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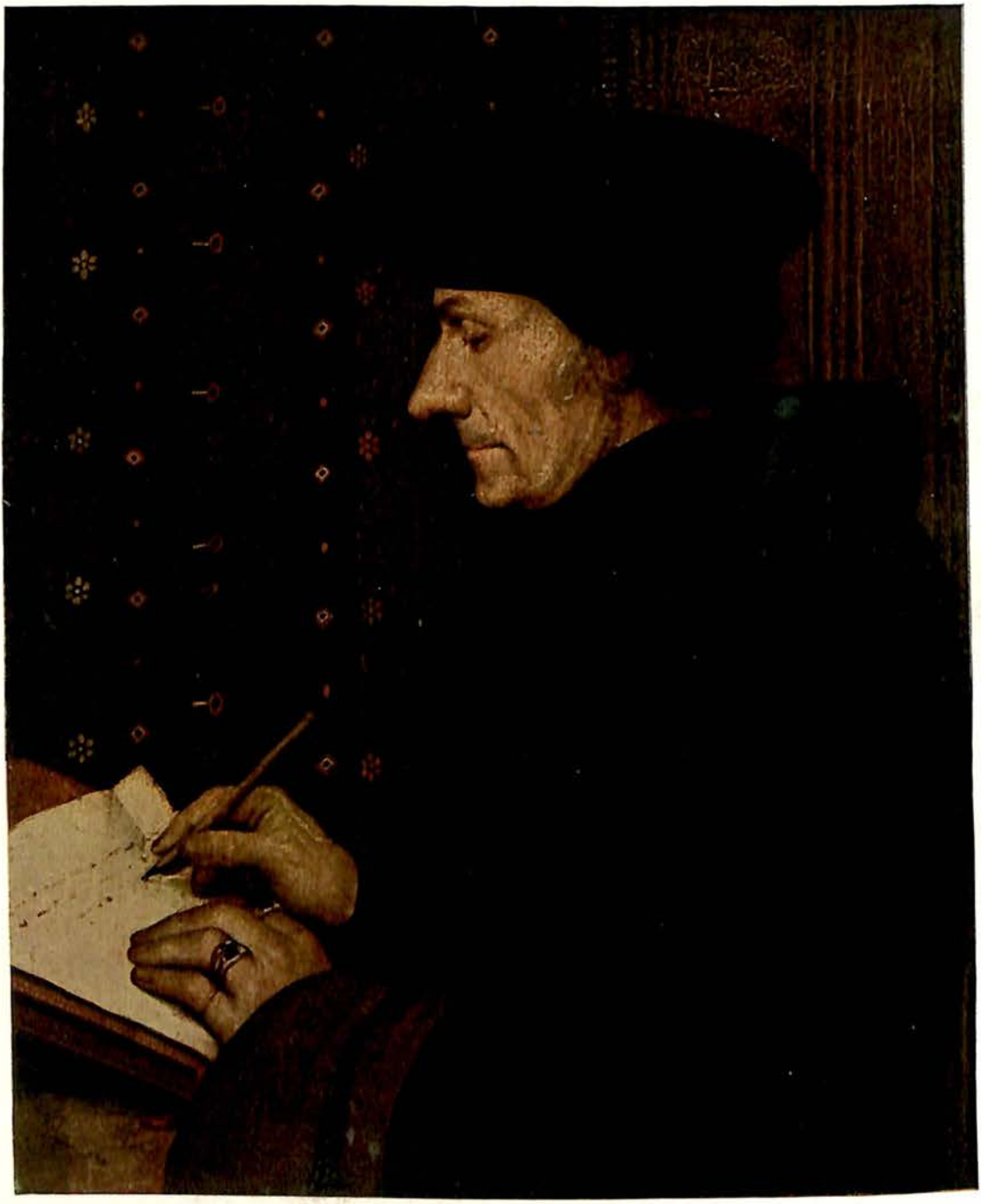

ERASMUS — HANS HOLBEIN

Leaders & Landmarks in European History

From Early to Modern Times

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In Four Volumes

Volume III

The Renaissance to Frederick the Great

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VOLUME THREE

CHAPTER I

Erasmus (A.D. 1467–1536)

In every age men find difficulty in resigning themselves to the fact of progress. Movements making for advance are constantly interpreted as indicative of degeneration and decay. The sharper the contrast between the new and the old, the more strongly are these premonitions apprehended. Such an age of transition was opened by the fall of Constantinople. Men feared that the adherents of Mohammed would overrun Christendom. Spain and Africa had been absorbed by this militant creed, the advances of which successive crusades had been unable to check. Nor was any comfort to be derived from the contemplation of the state of Christendom itself. The Church was weakened by abuses and assailed by heresies; Wycliff and Huss had given expression to a discontent which was rather repressed than extirpated by persecution, and it seemed to many that the old beliefs were to vanish for ever in some convulsion which would shake the foundations of society. But this was a partial and shortsighted view; a new heaven and a new earth were opening for those who had eyes to see. When Copernicus had given a new astronomy and Columbus a new hemisphere to civilization, even the most incurious began vaguely to feel that these were not the chance results of individual speculation but the visible signs of nascent progress. The very success of Mohammedanism had contributed to this result. Arabic scholars had made Aristotle known by their translations, and the name of Averroes cannot be omitted from any history of Western humanism. Hence proceeded a steady influence upon the movement towards classical culture; the so-called Revival of Learning began in Italy, powerfully aided by the invention of printing. A critical and independent spirit was thus fostered, inherently antagonistic to the whole range of medieval belief, and between the new learning and scholastic theology a gulf was opened which may be disregarded but cannot be bridged. Italian culture for the most part disregarded it, but north of the Alps men were not wholly contented with the mere satisfaction of their æsthetic existence; the life of thought may be made the means of social and moral improvement

no less than the means of intellectual cultivation. With the realization of this fact began the long struggle between science and theology. Hebrew and Christian antiquities were studied no less than those of Greece, and this is the characteristic that distinguishes the Northern humanists, among whom Erasmus was the leading figure.

Desiderius Erasmus was born at Rotterdam in 1467; Erasmus (ἐράσμος, beloved) was a Græcized form of his father's name, Gerrard, which was referred to the Dutch *begeeren* (Ger. *gieren*, to desire); hence Erasmus in Latinized form became *Desiderius*. Similarly, the famous reformer, Melanchthon, bore a name Græcized from Swartzerde ("black earth"). The only trustworthy authority for the early life of Erasmus is his own letters, and the true chronological order of these will probably never be ascertained. He had an elder brother, Peter, and at school showed considerable promise; his memory especially was extraordinary. When he was little more than a boy his father and mother died, and Erasmus and Peter were left under the guardianship of three of his father's friends. One of these soon died; another was busy with his own affairs; and the third, a schoolmaster, was left in charge of the trust. What little money had been left to the orphans was squandered or embezzled by the trustee, who attempted to get rid of the wards by sending them into a monastery, a not uncommon method of disposing of inconvenient children even though their age forbade them to take the monastic vows. Erasmus and his brother were therefore placed in the house of the Collationary Brothers, about whom no one seems to have any information whatever. Erasmus states that they were chiefly occupied in making proselytes for other orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans in particular. Erasmus's whole soul was set upon learning, and during his two years with these monks he learnt nothing. When the time came for him to take the monastic vows he objected strongly. He wished to go to the University of Paris. His elder brother, whose share of brains he had absorbed, was by no means attracted by a life of study, and soon agreed to do as his guardian desired; and though Erasmus strove to fight his battle by himself, the combined persuasions of those about him proved too strong, and eventually he gave way. He became an Augustinian monk. The prior of the convent noticed his eagerness for study and his grief when he was excluded from the library, the only corner of the whole conventual establishment that seemed to have the smallest attraction for him. He secured for Erasmus the post of secretary to the bishop of Cambrai, and thus released him from the despotism of the convent. How long he remained with the bishop we cannot say, but his patron at length yielded to his desire for a university education, made him an allowance and permitted him to go to Paris.

For the first time in his life Erasmus was free to do, within limits, what he pleased. He was about twenty-five years of age, and had already some small reputation for wit and cleverness. At nearly every time of his life he was in want of money, and he complains of

the bishop's allowance as inadequate. What allowance would have been adequate even Erasmus himself would probably have been unable to decide. Like many clever men he was extraordinarily careless in money matters, and, though he had no taste for vulgar pleasures and licentiousness, he liked to be comfortable; his health demanded good food; he was generous and fond of amusement. When his patron's allowance ran out he took pupils, and learned the elements of Greek that he might instruct them. He earned a little by writing for booksellers. He was also anxious to visit Italy, and learned something of Italian culture and scholarship which were then famous. But his poverty was one obstacle and a serious illness another. Among his pupils were two young Englishmen, one of whom at least, the eldest son of Lord Mountjoy, was to have a considerable influence upon his tutor's career. There was also an elderly Lord de Vere, the old husband of a young and pretty wife whom he ill treated, and who was willing to patronize Erasmus. We find him travelling to Holland and staying with this good lady for a couple of days. The journey was undertaken to try and recover some of his lost patrimony, but the results did not even cover the expenditure which the attempt involved. Erasmus was back again in Paris shortly afterwards, more penniless than before. His friend and pupil, Mountjoy, knowing him to be in want of money, invited him to come and try his fortune in England. Mountjoy was quite able to introduce him to the world of English scholarship, and the freemasonry among scholars of that age was enhanced by their possession of Latin as a common language. Erasmus wandered through most countries of Europe at one time or another, but Latin was a universal passport to knowledge, and in Latin he was always able to converse. At the end of 1497 he reached London in company with young Lord Mountjoy.

Henry VII was on the throne when Erasmus came to London after the long struggle of the Wars of the Roses, which had done for England what the Wars of the League had done for France, sweeping away the remnants of aristocratic feudalism. A general desire for peace and repose, for law and order, prevailed, and the nation was settling down to work. The atmosphere was favourable to study and to thought. Lord Mountjoy introduced Erasmus to the two leaders, with whom he formed the group known as the Oxford Humanists—Thomas More, then twenty years of age; and Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, who was born in the same year as Erasmus himself. Thomas More was a Londoner born and bred, the son of a successful lawyer in the service of the Archbishop and Chancellor Morton, the man whom Henry VII had largely to thank for his crown, and whose influence sent More to Oxford for the better training of his high capacities. Colet was some twelve years older than More, but at Oxford they studied together under Grocyn, who was there teaching the rudiments of Greek, and the older student formed a high opinion of More's talent and genius; in fact he was wont to speak of him as the only genius of whom London could boast. Then in 1496 Colet

went to the Continent, visited France and Italy, and devoted the major part of his time to the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers. His Italian experience may have determined him to take orders. In Rome the scandals connected with Alexander V and Cæsar Borgia reached their climax during his stay. He would hardly have passed through Italy without visiting Florence, where he must have heard something of Savonarola. His father was a well-known merchant in high favour at court, and when Colet returned to England he determined to devote his time to study and preaching, and began by announcing a course of lectures at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles. There is a story that Erasmus first met More at the table of Colet's father; that before they were made acquainted with one another they fell into an argument, until Erasmus found his opponent a subtler disputant than he had ever known, and burst out with the exclamation: *Aut tu es Morus, aut nullus!* To which More returned: *Aut tu es Erasmus, aut diabolus!* Early in 1498 Erasmus was taken to Oxford, where he made acquaintance with Colet, and saw something of English country life, as is shown by the following letter to Faustus Anderlin at Paris, thus translated by Mr. Froude from the Latin:—

> Your friend Erasmus gets on well in England. He can make a show in the hunting field. He is a fair horseman, and understands how to make his way. He can make a tolerable *bow*, and can smile graciously, whether he means it or not. If you are a wise man you will cross the Channel yourself. A witty gentleman like you ought not to waste his life among those French *merdes*. If you knew the charms of this country your ankles would be winged, or if the gout was in your feet you would wish yourself Dædalus.
>
> To mention but a single attraction, the English girls are divinely pretty. Soft, pleasant, gentle, and charming as the Muses, they have one custom which cannot be too much admired. When you go anywhere on a visit the girls all kiss you. They kiss you when you arrive. They kiss you when you go away; and kiss you again when you return. Go where you will, it is all kisses; and, my dear Faustus, if you had once tasted how soft and fragrant those lips are, you would wish to spend your life here.

At the Mountjoys' country house he was taken upon a visit to see the young royal family, where he met Prince Henry, then a boy nine years of age. Erasmus says that More then presented the prince with some literary compliment which he had brought ready prepared. They were asked to dine at the palace, and in the course of the dinner the young prince, who had heard of the brilliancy of Erasmus, sent him a note asking him to show his talent after the fashion of More. Erasmus would not venture to improvise in such high company, but he spent three of his remaining days in England composing a copy of Latin verses in honour of the country and of its rulers, an effort which was well received. By the end of January he was on his way back to Paris. His financial difficulties seem to have been overcome. His friends had made him presents of money, and though no post in London had been found for him, he had

made an impression upon Henry VIII which was never forgotten. Unfortunately he was deprived of his money at the Dover custom house. An English law forbade the exportation of specie, which must go abroad in the shape of English goods for the encouragement of English trade. Erasmus had changed his money into French currency and supposed himself safe, but it was confiscated at the custom house, and he was sent on his way penniless. In short, he was a sufferer under the system so rigorously enforced by Empson and Dudley. It was a short time after this adventure that he compiled his *Adagia*, a collection of proverbs, anecdotes, and epigrams, with reflections of his own. Erasmus had a fine gift of sarcasm; in certain respects he might be called the Voltaire of his age. Light literature was far from common in his day, and the book had an immediate success. What was more important to him, it brought him a little money. The future Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, was delighted with it, and offered the author a benefice if he would return to England. But Erasmus was again thinking of Rome and Italy, and meant somehow or other to collect money for the journey.

He went back to the Netherlands in the hope of raising funds, but with no great success. The Bishop of Cambrai was not particularly pleased with him. Erasmus says that he was as cold as an icicle when he called. Probably some passages in the *Adagia* had scandalized his prudery. At the same time Erasmus might have found no difficulty either in England or abroad in securing a post in the household of some great man; but he valued his liberty, he wished to be left free to study and think in his own way, and during this time he worked extraordinarily hard, especially at Greek, in which he wished to rival his English friends. It was knowledge acquired under difficulties: books were scarce, manuscripts were jealously guarded, and both were enormously expensive. But he had set before himself a definite object, the publication of the Greek New Testament, accompanied by a translation, in a new edition based upon all the manuscripts to which he could get access. He also wished to edit the works of Jerome. His friendship with the Lady of Vere became the occasion for the composition of one of his best-known minor works, the *Encheiridion*, the Manual of a Christian Knight, which showed the tendency of Erasmus in its insistence upon works rather than upon forms and ceremonies. Life taught men how a Christian must spend his strength, not in the pursuit of his own lust of pleasure, but in the service of his prince, which was not to be done by the mere practice of pilgrimage or the expedients of scholastic dogmas and formulæ. It was a book read by both Protestants and Catholics after the Reformation had begun. It had a wide circulation even in Spain, and was translated into English by Tyndale.

At length it seemed possible that Erasmus might be able to realize his Italian projects. The journey was made some time in 1504. Before that date he had paid another visit to England and in 1506 he seems to have been lecturing at Cambridge on Greek. But the information at

our disposal does not enable us to follow his movements with any exactitude. Colet had sent him as pupils the two sons of the court physician to Henry VIII, who were to make the Italian tour in charge of an English tutor. Erasmus agreed to diminish his expenses by accompanying them as a friend and making himself responsible for the general safety of the party. The journey was not a pleasant one; the tutor quarrelled with the courier and Erasmus left them. However, he reached Italy, was introduced even to the Pope and many other Church dignitaries, lectured at Siena, and might easily have stayed at Rome had he been willing to accept service under the Papacy. But he insisted upon retaining his freedom. Throughout these years he was in constant communication with his English friends, especially Colet, and in 1506 he was lecturing in Cambridge for some months. Then he returned to Rome and had almost made up his mind to remain there when his friend Mountjoy wrote to tell him that Henry VIII had succeeded to the throne and was anxious to find a position for Erasmus at court. He urged Erasmus to return at once, sent him money for the journey, and assured him that his future was made. Erasmus hoped that he would find time and leisure to complete his edition of the Greek Testament and hastened to accept the invitation.

Meanwhile Colet had been made Dean of St. Paul's and the contrast between his life and teaching and that of his predecessor was great. He lived a quiet and frugal life and spent his superfluous income in charity. He declined to wear the customary purple vestments, and preached plain truths from the pulpit instead of scholastic subtleties. A short time before, More had been called to the bar, and their old Oxford tutors, Grocyn and Linacre, had also settled in London. More had offended the king by a speech in Parliament against the king's excessive taxation and had been obliged to retire into private life. The circle of friends was thus complete and was able to spend much time in religious disputation and the study of the Scriptures. On the accession of Henry VIII More was able to emerge from his retirement. Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower in 1509, on the same day that he was proclaimed king, and the general terror inspired by the royal avarice and the means of extortion employed came to an end. Henry VIII had no sympathy with his father's domestic policy, and though More had lost his prospects in the former reign he soon regained them under the new monarch. He was appointed to the office of Under-Sheriff in the City, his legal practice greatly increased, and when Erasmus arrived from Italy he found the household a picture of domestic happiness.

Erasmus was somewhat disappointed by the prospects in England which opened before him. He had expected to be attached to Henry VIII's court as the king's advisor upon matters ecclesiastical, and with time to work at his own beloved projects; but the king was too busy to attend to him—his hands were full of domestic reforms, Irish troubles, and a threatened war with France—and he handed Erasmus over to Warham, the Primate and Chancellor of the realm. Warham gave him the best living that he could command—worth some

six hundred a year of our money—but Erasmus had scruples: he could not preach in English and did not wish to be buried in a country living far from the centres of human concourse and from libraries. He resigned it in six months, but the Primate pressed upon him an equivalent pension which was paid him for the rest of his life. He had no reason to complain so far as money matters were concerned. At the same time Erasmus remained in England notwithstanding his disappointment; he was busy printing his edition of Jerome and his edition of the New Testament was approaching completion. In 1511 he had published his *Encomium Moriae* or Praise of Folly; in 1516 the Greek Testament accompanied by a Latin translation appeared. It is difficult to say which of these two epoch-making works exerted the greater influence in preparing men's minds for the teaching of Luther. Much of Christianity had come to mean for the lay mind an amount of elaborate ritual and ceremonial often directed to the Virgin or to saints, with dispensations and indulgences for omission or commission. Those who could not read, and they were many, heard no more of the Bible than so much as was read in church. Copies of the Scripture were rare, and were read only by professed theologians, while the text was often corrupt or distorted. Erasmus had undertaken to raise the veil, to give the world a wholly new Testament to read for itself, and the comparison between the simple gospel and the spectacle of a Borgia Pope was bound to cause an upheaval. As regards the text itself, it was very far from perfect; the mere fact that printers were inexperienced in the use of the Greek type was enough to introduce numberless errors and was perhaps a cause of disappointment to Erasmus in view of the labours which he had expended upon the text. But accuracy of text was not the chief merit of the book: Erasmus attached annotations to his edition which were afterwards accompanied by paraphrases. He had written special prefaces to each Gospel and Epistle, and the character of these may be shown by one or two quotations:—

To *1 Corinthians*, xiv, 19, he writes:—

St. Paul says he would rather speak five words with a reasonable meaning in them than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. They chant nowadays in our churches in what is an unknown tongue, and nothing else, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling people to amend their lives. Modern church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion. Why will they not listen to St. Paul? In college or monastery it is still the same; music, nothing but music. There was no music in St. Paul's time. Words were then pronounced plainly. Words nowadays mean nothing. They are mere sounds striking upon the ear, and men are to leave their work and go to church to listen to worse noises than were ever heard in Greek or Roman theatres. Money must be raised to buy organs and train boys to squeal, and to learn no other thing that is good for them. The laity are burdened to support miserable, poisonous corybantes, when poor, starving creatures might be fed at the cost of them.

Or again, on *1 Timothy*, i, 6:—

Theologians are never tired of discussing the modes of sin, whether it be a privation in the soul or a spot on the soul? Why is it not enough simply to hate sin? Again, we have been disputing for ages whether the grace by which God loves us and the grace by which we love God are one and the same grace. We dispute how the Father differs from the Son, and both from the Holy Ghost, whether it be a difference of fact or a difference of relation, and how the three can be one when neither of the three is the other. We dispute how the material fire which is to torture wicked souls can act on a substance which is not material. Entire lives are wasted on these speculations, and men quarrel and curse and come to blows about them.

These passages in the prefaces of Erasmus plainly show his dislike both of the scholastic school which had overlaid Christianity with intellectual disputations of its own devising and also of the philosophical Italian school which was inclined to exalt Aristotle above Christ. Erasmus regarded these as forces tending to foster sensuality, profligacy, and political influence. Erasmus said, as did Colet, that there was a Christianity based upon facts which need not fear free enquiry on the one hand, and on the other had nothing to do with the dogmatic theology of the schoolmen. "I truly dissent", he says, "from those who are unwilling that the sacred Scriptures should be read by the unlearned, translated into their vulgar tongue; as though Christ had taught such subtleties that they could scarcely be understood even by a few theologians or as though the strength of the Christian religion consisted in men's ignorance of it. I say that the weakest woman should read the Gospel, should read the Epistles of Paul, and I wish these were translated into all languages so that they might be read and understood, not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens."

Then Erasmus goes on to reject the theory of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures by pointing out, without any attempt to reconcile it, the discrepancy between St. Stephen's speech and the narrative in Genesis, concerning the history of Abraham; he refers to misquotations from the Old Testament for the reason that the Church party to whom he was particularly opposed as depriving the people of the Bible was the party which had insisted upon the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and even of the Vulgate version. Scholastic theology would in large part collapse if the theory that the Vulgate version was inspired were overthrown, and hair-splitting disputations upon the meaning of words became unnecessary the moment it was shown that the said words were nothing more than convertible terms. Colet and Erasmus understood that Christianity did not depend upon the mere formal adherence to a creed, but in personal devotion to the person of Christ, and such devotion could only be inspired by the records of those who had lived about Christ's person and known Him upon earth. For that reason the original text of the New Testament was of vital importance, and for that reason Erasmus desired to supplement his New

Testament by the publication of Jerome's works. Jerome, in his day, gave the people the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and Jerome had discussed with St. Augustine the verbal inspiration of it. Erasmus looked upon himself as doing for his generation what Jerome had done for his own, and the joint publication showed that he was teaching no new doctrine but was leading men back to the old true theology. Dedicated by permission to Pope Leo, the New Testament caused a tremendous sensation. Men could now read and judge for themselves and compare the existing ecclesiastical system with the reality. Almost at the same time the lighter side of the question was brought before men's eyes.

The *Praise of Folly*, *Encomium Moriae*, was begun in 1509 or 1510, while Erasmus was confined to More's house by illness and found himself without occupation in the absence of his books. It was begun, in the first instance, as an amusement for More rather than with any intention of publication, and the title is, of course, a pun upon his host's name. Folly begins by speaking in her own name, declaring herself the most outspoken of beings, even as many a truth was constantly spoken in jest by fools at kings' courts. Folly, thus personified, opens her mouth to utter the satire of Erasmus upon every kind of being. The bookworm and scholar appears with the sportsman and his love of hunting. Grammarians and schoolmasters with their pedantry and cruelty; poets, rhetoricians, and lawgivers all come under the lash, after which the dogmatic system of the schoolmen and dogmatic theology are turned into ridicule. Monks come in for severe criticism, kings and Popes are not spared, and mendicant friars are the pet aversion of Erasmus.

Immortal gods, never were such stage-players as these friars. They gesticulate. They vary their voices. They fill the air with their noise. To be a friar mendicant is a professional mystery, and brother instructs brother. I heard one of them once—A fool? No, a learned man—explaining the Trinity. He was an original, and took a line of his own. He went on the parts of speech. He showed how noun agreed with verb and adjective with substantive, and made out a grammatical triad as mathematicians draw triangles. Another old man—he was over eighty—might have been Scotus come to life again. He discovered the properties of Christ in the letters of the word Jesus. The three inflections exhibited the triple nature—Jesus, Jesum, Jesu. That is *summus, medius, ultimus.* I felt as if I were turning to stone. They lift their theologic brows. They talk of their doctors solemn, doctors subtle and most subtle, doctors seraphic, doctors cherubic, doctors holy, doctors irrefragable. They have their syllogisms, their majors and minors, inferences, corollaries, suppositions; and, for a fifth act of the play, they tell some absurd story and interpret it allegorically, tropologically, anagogically, and make it into a chimera more extravagant than poet ever invented. They open their sermons quietly, and begin in an undertone so that they can scarcely hear themselves. Then suddenly they raise their voices and shout, when there is nothing to shout about. They are directed to be entertaining, so they crack jokes as if they were asses playing the fiddle. They practise all the tricks of the platform, and use them badly, and yet they are admired—wonderfully admired—by women who are on bad terms with their husbands.

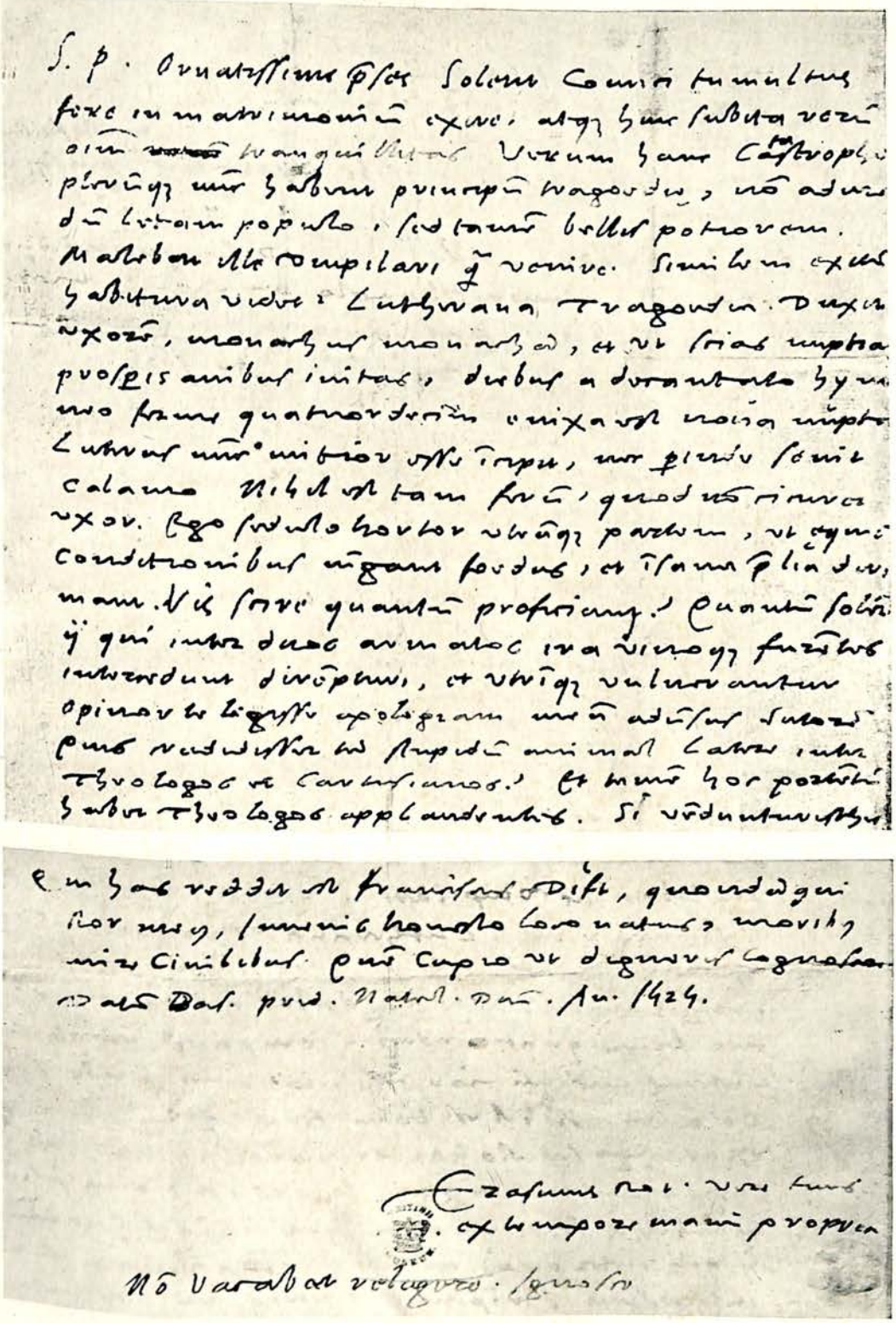
Perhaps it was the first time that monks and divines had been similarly attacked. Ulrich von Hütten, the champion of Luther, soon afterwards produced the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which was naturally ascribed to Erasmus, who denied that he had ever written a word of it. Nor had he. No one who compares the two writings could fail to see the difference at once. The *Epistolae* are Rabelaisian in tone, and compared with Erasmus's satire the difference is that between a bludgeon attack and rapier play. Many who were not likely to read his New Testament laughed over the *Praise of Folly*. Princes and politicians were not offended; some were rather pleased to see the castigation of orders which had long defied their control. But monks and clergy were naturally infuriated, and an uproar against the study of Greek and the New Learning was the natural result. These were the works which inspired the saying that Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it; to which Erasmus replied that the egg he laid was a hen, and that Luther hatched a game cock. Erasmus had no quarrel with the Church as such, but rather with its conduct. The reformation of morals, the removal of prejudices and superstitions which had overlaid the vital truth, would have fully satisfied him.

The Netherlands had at last resolved that their most learned citizen must come back to them; they were prepared to make provision for his needs and to give him the position that was rightly his. He grieved to part with his friends, and before sailing he stayed for a fortnight with Bishop Fisher at Rochester, where Sir Thomas More came to see him. They thought that the liberal Pope Leo, now upon the Papal throne, might initiate some measure of moderate reform which would lead the Church back to their own ideals of Christianity. None of them could understand that Erasmus himself was raising a storm in which two at least of them were to perish. Erasmus sailed from Dover on 8 July, 1514, and he reached the Netherlands to be disagreeably surprised by the discovery that his enemies were proposing to insist upon the temporary nature of the dispensation which had permitted him to absent himself from his convent some thirty years before. The prior of the convent demanded, as he had a technical right to do, some account of Erasmus's occupation during the years that he had been absent, and sent him an invitation to return. Erasmus graciously declined either to return or to answer questions, and an appeal to the Pope immediately settled the difficulty. Leo released him from his obligations and Erasmus appeared at Brussels and was presented at the court of the young Archduke Charles. Charles was anxious to take him into Spain in his suite, but Erasmus had other work to do. His edition of Jerome was being printed at Bâle and he must go and superintend it. Henceforward a great deal of his time was spent within range of his printer. He was also involved in a controversy with Reuchlin, the father of Biblical criticism in Germany. At length the edition of Jerome appeared in 1516, and Pope Leo allowed his name to be placed on the title even as he had sanctioned the edition of the New Testament. He also wrote to Henry VIII recommending Erasmus for an English

bishopric. Naturally Erasmus believed that all was going well. His satires had opened men's eyes to the evils of monasticism; an enlightened Pope was prepared to purify the Church and to refound belief upon a Scriptural basis. He had himself a sufficiency of money; countries were contending for the possession of him: Wolsey and Henry VIII would have been glad to have him in England; Francis I invited him to Paris; and the Archduke Charles welcomed him to Brussels. The religious orders, indeed, were furiously angry with him and attacked him with unceasing animosity, but he could revenge himself by laughing at their ignorance and rest secure in the sunshine of Papal favour. Then came the year 1517 and the outburst of Lutheranism. Luther's action was received by Erasmus with very mixed feelings. He was, to begin with, of a conservative frame of mind. He had his quarrel with the monks, but he did not therefore condemn the whole ecclesiastical system and he had no desire for a breach with the Pope. In short, his chief reverence was for intellectual truth, whereas Luther was rather concerned with the moral aspect of the question. Erasmus desired a return to early Christianity. Men should be left free to think as they pleased upon the inscrutable mysteries which the schoolmen had professed to define in precise terms, and should no longer fight about the difference between the *homoiousion* and *homoousion*, or similar points of dispute. He could not declare against Luther, for when Luther denounced the indulgences he had simply been denouncing one of the many practices which Erasmus himself had satirized. On the other hand, he would not openly support him, for he could not see in what direction the movement was going, and he did not believe that delicate theological questions could be settled by riot and convulsion. Certainly the uproar was in some sense of his making; every scholar was on Luther's side; but Erasmus was careful not to read Luther's books and to avoid communication with him. In the long run Luther was surprised at this attitude. Erasmus, in his view, had opened the struggle and ought to lend him his support. He wrote to ask for it, admitting that he was no scholar, and, with almost unnecessary deference, apologized for his importunity. Erasmus felt that his hands were already sufficiently full, nor did he wish to lose the Pope's protection. Protestants have stigmatized Erasmus as a coward, but if we could place ourselves in his position we should rather consider him prudent. The real enemy of true Christianity, in the opinion of Erasmus, was not the Pope and his indulgences, but the belief in the supernatural powers of the clergy and the mass of superstition and ignorance by which this belief was supported; improved education and a better knowledge of the Scriptures under the countenance of enlightened Popes and bishops, numbers of whom were known to exist, would, in the opinion of Erasmus, accomplish by peaceful means more than any obscure monk in Germany could hope to do by revolt. One of his letters to Cardinal Campeggio is often quoted to explain his position:—

If we want truth every man ought to be free to say what he thinks without fear. If the advocates of one side are to be rewarded with mitres, and the advocates on the other with rope or stake, truth will not be heard. Out of the many universities in Europe, two have condemned certain propositions of Luther; but even these two did not agree. Then came the terrible Bull with the Pope's name upon it. Luther's books were to be burnt, and he himself was denounced to the world as a heretic. Nothing could have been more invidious or more unwise. The Bull itself was unlike Leo X, and those who were sent to publish it only made matters worse. It is dangerous, however, for secular princes to oppose the Papacy, and I am not likely to be braver than princes, especially when I can do nothing. The corruptions of the Roman Court may require reform extensive and immediate, but I and the likes of me are not called on to take a work like that upon ourselves. I would rather see things left as they are than see a revolution which may lead to one knows not what. Others may be martyrs if they like. I aspire to no such honour. Some hate me for being a Lutheran; some for not being a Lutheran. You may assure yourself that Erasmus has been, and always will be, a faithful subject of the Roman See. But I think, and many think with me, that there would be better chance of a settlement if there was less ferocity, if the management was placed in the hands of men of weight and learning, if the Pope would follow his own disposition and would not let himself be influenced by others.

However, the odium which Luther had aroused naturally became a source of danger and difficulty to Erasmus. Erasmus and Luther were classed together by a large majority of their opponents. When the storm broke out, when Saxony became Lutheran, when religious houses were dissolved, and relics removed from the churches, and when Luther was brought back from Wittenberg to quell the uproar, Erasmus was asked to declare himself. Leo had been succeeded by Adrian VI. Erasmus had known him as a schoolfellow, but a letter of congratulation upon his succession had remained unanswered. But the Pope was unable to disregard his learning and eventually applied to him for help. Erasmus was to write an exposure of Luther's errors, and a bishopric or a cardinal's hat should be his reward; but he was not to be tempted. "Your Holiness", he said, "shall have my opinion but not in writing; I have not learning enough to write against Luther, and my popularity has turned to hatred. One party says I agree with Luther because I do not oppose him; others even abuse me as if I had opposed him. When I advised him to be moderate I only made his friends my enemies. I entirely disagree with Luther; I can find hundreds of passages where St. Paul seems to teach the doctrines which are condemned by Luther. I did not anticipate such a time as this. I admit that I helped to bring it about, but I was always willing to submit what I wrote to the Church and my friends can find nothing wrong. What good, then, can I do at Rome? If I write anything there it will be thought that I am hurrying to you for a share of the spoils. If I write temperately I shall seem to be trifling; if I copy Luther's style I shall stir up a hornet's nest." Adrian was soon succeeded by Clement VII, who had been brought



FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF LETTER FROM ERASMUS

This Latin epistle was addressed to Nicholas Everard, President of Holland, on the occasion of Luther's marriage. The opening passages may be translated as follows: "The tumults of Comedy usually subside into marriage, and after that comes sudden calm. . . . The Lutheran Tragedy bids fair to have a similar conclusion. The monk has taken a nun to wife. . . . Now Luther begins to be milder, and his pen is following suit." Dated, Basel, 24 Dec., 1525. (*British Museum.*)

up in the traditional policy of the Papacy and was resolved to continue it. Clement again begged Erasmus to do what he could, and an invective launched against him by Ulrich von Hütten stirred him to action. Hütten, the most brilliant and most ferocious of the reforming party, could not understand the hesitation of Erasmus and thought to rouse him by satire. Erasmus demolished him in a pamphlet but declined to go further. He hated disputation, nor did he see that any useful outcome could arise. An eirenicon he might have been persuaded to write, but he was sure that it would do no good.

Another side to his character is better shown by his famous *Colloquies*, pictures of what he saw and heard in the many countries of Europe which he visited, marked by great human sympathy and composed at intervals through a long period of time as the subjects occurred to him or shaped themselves in his mind. One such, for instance, was provided by his visit to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in 1513, another by his pilgrimage to Becket's tomb at Canterbury with Colet. There the pilgrims see the point of the dagger which pierced St. Thomas's brain and are expected to kiss the sacred rust. In the vault below is the martyr's skull covered with silver except at the pierced spot. In the choir are a number of treasures in the form of fragments, which again they are expected to kiss. Colet explains that he has had enough of it, but the verger conducts them to the vestry and thence to the high altar where the face of the saint is set in jewels. Colet cross-examines the guide upon Becket's manners to the poor, and asserts his conviction that the holy man would prefer the treasures by which he is surrounded to be used for lightening the burdens of the poor rather than to be stored where they are, a sacrilegious observation which arouses wonderment in the verger as to how an archbishop could have given a letter of introduction to such an iconoclast. They proceed to inspect the remaining relics and a chest containing the rags upon which the saint was accustomed to wipe the sweat from his brow. The prior, knowing Colet's high position, offered him one of the rags as a valuable present, and Colet takes it up with a fastidious air, as though he thought it should be handled with a pair of tongs, and lays it down again with a snort of disgust. Neither of them foresaw the time when the gold and offerings would be dispersed, not for the benefit of the poor, but to swell the revenues of the royal exchequer.

Erasmus's friends and many of his enemies were exceedingly anxious that he should make some reply to Luther. And thus he was eventually persuaded to produce his book, *Concerning Free Will*, in which, while he struck at the heart of Luther's system, he also treated of a topic which made little appeal to popular controversialists. Metaphysical and psychological questions are not satisfactory themes for outbursts of temper, and while Erasmus did what he was asked to do, he did it in such a way that little excitement was aroused. Luther replied in a pamphlet, which Erasmus answered; but the

controversy at the present day is little more than dry bones. Erasmus himself was convinced that a peaceful compromise was possible, and in order to effect it he corresponded continuously with the emperor and the king of France, with German princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries of both parties, while at the same time he continued his own literary work upon the Fathers. But all hopes of compromise were destroyed by the movement of political events. Francis had been taken prisoner at Pavia; England rushed into the arms of France—fearing that Charles would become all-powerful—and was joined by the Pope, from whom Henry of England was anxious to procure a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. There was much to be said for his wish: he had no heir to his throne, his marriage with Catherine had been of doubtful legality, and the emperor himself could see that the removal of this difficulty would only tend to strengthen the peace of Europe. Catherine, however, would not give her consent, and Charles felt bound to support his aunt. Then came the sack of Rome, the imprisonment of the Pope, and the devastation of the Eternal City. It seemed that Charles was in supreme command of the situation. He might have put the Papacy into commission and himself have headed an ecclesiastical reform, but upon this he could not venture. The Turks were all-powerful in the Mediterranean and were threatening Vienna, while the Germans were too distracted by their religious quarrels to be of much use to him in the impending struggle. Heresy was spreading even in his own Netherland provinces. Charles was obliged to make peace with the Pope on condition that Henry should have no divorce without his own consent, while the price he paid was the issue of an edict for the suppression of spiritual rebellion. Erasmus deeply regretted this policy of repression. He was himself past sixty years of age, broken in health, and suffering severely from the gout. He was at this time residing in Bâle, an independent city which hitherto had been Catholic. When it was invaded by the progress of reform he feared that the Lutheran party would attempt to make him their tool, and moved house to Freiburg, within Austrian territory. Then came the Peace of Cambrai, which brought the emperor and the Pope into close alliance, while the opposition of England was to be decided by the ultimate issue of the great divorce question. In fact it might almost be said that Catherine of Aragon could at one time sway the destinies of Europe. The adherence of England was sufficient to turn the scale between the evenly balanced forces of Francis and Charles, and the Pope himself was inclined to admit the justice and expediency of Henry's demand. If Catherine was willing to consent, Charles, Henry, and the Pope might work together for the restoration of order in Europe. About this time occurs a letter from Erasmus concerning the book which decorated English coinage with six additional letters—Henry VIII's work against Luther. How much of it was written by Henry himself has ever been an open question, but the letter of Erasmus contains an interesting portrait of the king.

The German Catholics refused to believe that a king could write a book. I will not say the king of England had no help; the most learned men are now and then helped by friends, but I am quite sure the work is essentially his own. His father was a man of strong sense, his mother was brilliant, witty and pious. The king himself studied hard in his youth; he was quick, prompt and careful in all that he undertook; he never took up anything that he did not carry out. He made himself a fine shot, a good rider and a fair musician, and was well-grounded in mathematics. His intellectual pursuits he has always kept up. He spends his leisure in reading and conversation, and argues so pleasantly that you forget you are speaking with a prince.

Expectations of peace were soon disappointed. The emperor was apparently preparing to interfere vigorously in German affairs, while the course of events in England was particularly interesting to Erasmus in view of the share taken in them by his friend Thomas More, who received the chancellorship upon the dismissal of Wolsey. The quarrel with the Pope had given Henry the opportunity to take in hand the whole question of ecclesiastical reform, and the overthrow of Wolsey was tantamount to the overthrow of the temporal power of the clergy. Naturally an opposition party rose, in which Fisher, Warham, and others whom Erasmus had known were leading figures. Catherine's cause became the cause of conservative orthodoxy. The movement began as a conspiracy; Henry was to be deposed, a Spanish army to be landed in England and to be supported by a popular rising upon its arrival. Sir Thomas More was driven to support the extremists from his hatred of Lutheran extremes. But a few years later he and Fisher perished upon the scaffold, the monasteries were abolished, and the Crown of England declared itself supreme within its own dominions in all matters ecclesiastical and civil.

Meanwhile, in 1530, the famous Diet of Augsburg met, over which the emperor himself presided. Charles was asked to destroy the Lutherans with fire and sword. If he refused, there was a possibility that the Pope might attempt to gain the support of England by declaring for the divorce; in any case a civil war within the limits of the empire was a difficult matter for the emperor to conduct. By his oath he could not employ the forces of the empire within its boundaries unless he had the consent of the Diet; on the other hand, the Lutheran reformers had suppressed monasteries, confiscated the property of the Church, abolished bishops, and altered the whole existing scheme of things. The Church appealed to the emperor for protection, and how could he refuse? The situation was painfully difficult. Erasmus was not present at the Diet, and was obliged to watch the ferment from afar. The emperor had no desire for a religious war; the clouds upon the political horizon were already too thick and lowering. A small matter might drive France and England into an alliance against him, and the Turks were threatening Vienna. Thus the inevitable struggle was postponed during the lifetime of Erasmus, and it seemed possible for him to hope.

In central Europe confusion had become intolerable, and there was a general cry for a council to deal with ecclesiastical matters, in which the laity might have a voice. It was hoped that the Pope might be persuaded to call a free council of this kind. The emperor could not venture to do so without infringing papal privileges. A letter to Erasmus may be regarded as typical of the general feeling:—

I can think of nothing but the Council. Our miseries will never end until the cause of them is removed. War will settle nothing and will leave an incurable ulcer. Germany is rent in twain; Christianity itself is in peril. Oh! ears and heart of Rome, deaf to the one thing needful and buried in the pleasures of the world, have not Catholics waited long enough? Will not our cries move you at last? Our hope is that the Emperor will lay demands before the Court of Rome which it will be unable to refuse, and persuade or weary it into compliance. What Luther's party will do I do not know. Some think they will never agree to any equitable settlement. I think they will agree if they are approached in a friendly spirit and if the Council when it meets is wise and moderate. Some are tired of the struggle already; some I have heard say plainly that they wish their scheme of doctrine had never been formulated, so many are the inconveniences which have arisen from it.

Pope Clement was never likely to call a council, but after his death the accession of Paul III seemed to offer more hopeful prospects. He began to create new cardinals by way of preparation for the council meeting, but he made a great mistake in conferring a cardinal's hat upon the English bishop of Rochester, Fisher. Fisher was known to have been the leading spirit in the party opposed to Henry's policy, and when he and More were required to take the oath of supremacy of the Crown their refusal ended in their execution, a terrible blow for Erasmus. He was at this time seriously ill, unable to travel except in a litter, and during the winter of 1535 his health grew steadily worse. Nor did the progress of events tend to encourage him. The Pope abandoned all idea of the council; his mind was full of Henry VIII's divorce. In the following year (1536) Erasmus died at Bâle on 12 July, and was buried in the Cathedral.

Erasmus was an indefatigable worker, and the universal esteem in which his great scholarship was held made him the confidant of kings and princes. Early in his life he, with Colet and More, had conceived a definite and possible scheme of reform which he never wholly abandoned. Profoundly convinced of the truth of Christianity, he was equally convinced of its influence upon men's conduct, provided that they could receive it in its purity, and the dearest wish of his heart was to see the whole Church, laity and clergy alike, reanimated by the true Christian spirit. He conceived that the best means of paving the way for this reform was not the abolition of individual abuses or the tinkering and patching of creed and dogma. Education was the panacea. If men could leave dogmas and consider the facts upon which they were founded, if they were given the capacity and the opportunity for free and unbiased enquiry, then regeneration

would eventually follow. It was an attitude, however praiseworthy, unlikely to meet with appreciation during the age in which Erasmus lived. A story is told of an event said to have happened at the Diet of Augsburg. A company of mummers appeared before the emperor as he sat at dinner, and in dumb show performed an allegory. A man brought in a bundle of sticks, placed some athwart, some straight and some crosswise on the hearth, and retired. He was labelled Reuchlin. Then came another marked Erasmus. He attempted to rearrange the sticks side by side. He was followed by a monk, Luther, who set a light to the sticks and blew them into a blaze. On the retirement of the monk entered an emperor, who attempted to put the fire out by poking it with his sword, but stirred it higher still. He was followed by a figure dressed as a Pope, representing Leo X, who displayed horror at the sight of the fire, and, looking for some means of quenching it, observed two cans in the room, filled, one with oil and one with water. In his haste he snatched up the oil by mistake, flung it upon the fire, and fled in terror from the subsequent blaze. The position of Erasmus in this mummery fairly represents his true position. He wished for toleration and concession in a time when the average intellect was unable to conceive that political government and religious faith can be separate in thought. He was but one of the many great souls who have lived before their age.

CHAPTER II

Martin Luther (A.D. 1483–1546)

The Reformation was a two-sided movement, which may be regarded as a revolution. Northern Europe revolted against the Papal supremacy and broke the bonds which had hitherto united it under the ecclesiastical empire of the Pope. The way was thus opened for the consolidation of the state and the nation; the conception of the Holy Roman Empire with Pope and Cæsar in conjoint supremacy as Dante had sketched it in his *De Monarchia* was an ideal too antiquated for the demands of progress. The age of the independent nation with a strong monarchical government had begun. But the movement was not only a revolt against ecclesiastical authority; it was also a reform. Certain evils and abuses existed in the Roman Catholic Church which were acknowledged as such even by its zealous supporters: the Reformation resulted in a revival of religious and moral life in Western Christendom. While it produced new, and sometimes strange, religious sects and communities, it also stimulated the vitality of Catholicism itself, and the Council of Trent was not the least important of its results.

The general direction of progress was towards a wider conception of national independence. The Popes as the spiritual leaders claimed to control many important questions affecting social and political life, even though they had abandoned their claims to temporal supremacy. Questions of Church organization and discipline, the appointment to Church offices, bequests of property, the validity of marriages, and so forth were matters that came within the Papal province; and, in an age when ecclesiastical and political affairs were very closely interwoven, such control implied a considerable infringement upon the liberties of the state. It was often difficult for a subject to decide whether he owed allegiance to his prince or to the Pope. Again, the financial interests of the Papacy in the states were a constant source of friction. The Church held a large part of the landed property of Europe, and a considerable portion of the money thence derived flowed into the Papal treasury. This income was further increased by the sale of indulgences, Peter's pence, and other direct and indirect contributions. As the states awoke to a sense of their own nationality, and as the secular governments began to feel the need for expenditure upon standing armies and other public purposes, the demands of the Papacy were felt to be an increasing burden. Hence the temptation to break away was urgent upon many states which aspired to power and self-development.

This political tendency was supported by an intellectual and a religious movement. The revival of learning and the return to the culture of classical antiquity had provoked a spirit of enquiry which was unwilling to bow to assertions based merely upon claims to authority; there was a demand that proof should precede credence, a demand antagonistic to the whole system of medieval belief and practice. Between the exponents of the new learning and the supporters of the scholastic theology collision was imminent and inevitable. There was also a movement towards the reform of religious practice. Formalism had led to superstition, and the outward forms of religion were often devoid of any spiritual vitality. The Roman or Western Church had rendered vast services to humanity during the Middle Ages: it sheltered the poor and weak, protected those who would have been otherwise oppressed, kept the lamp of learning alight, and provided the only avenue to political advancement open to men whom the accident of birth had deprived of noble rank. But in all ages of the Church's history there have been instances of incompetent and corrupt churchmen, and just at the moment when the Roman Church was called to justify its existence it proved most unable to do so. The demand that religion and morality should coincide had already produced pre-Reformation movements—the Albigenses in the south of France, the Wickliffites in England, and the Hussites in Germany. The Reformation proper was but the expression of the same tendency in a more imperative form. The movement produced the men: Erasmus may be regarded as representing its intellectual force, and its religious side found a leader in Martin Luther.

He was born on 10 November, 1483, at Eisleben, in Saxony. His father worked there as a copper miner, and moved to Mansfeldt, six miles away, when Martin was six months old. The Counts of Mansfeldt, who owned the local mines, were in the practice of building small smelting furnaces and leasing them to careful workmen. Hans and Margaret Luther, the parents, had a hard struggle at first, and, though they were never wealthy, they were so far prosperous that Hans was able to buy a substantial house in the middle of the town. Of Martin's childhood little is known; he speaks of his parents with real and genuine affection, though he also records instances of strict household discipline and severe punishment. It was a discipline which made him extremely conscientious and apprehensive on account of sins which existed only in his imagination; the sensitiveness thus early developed eventually drove him, as he himself informs us, to take refuge in a convent. He went to the local school, and suffered much at the hands of a tyrannical pedagogue, who imparted nothing but reading and writing and the elements of Latin. At the age of fourteen his father sent him to a better school in Magdeburg, kept by the so-called Noll brethren, a confraternity which did much to promote the results of the Renaissance in Germany, and was greatly interested in education. After a year in Magdeburg his father sent him to a school at Eisenach as a "poor student", one who received free educa-

tion and board but was obliged to sing in the choir of the church and allowed to sing in the streets for charity. He remained four years in Eisenach. The most important to him of several acquaintances that he made was one Frau Cotta, the wife of one of the most influential citizens, who was attracted by Luther's singing. In her house he first learned something of the refinements of social life which he had never known in his own family.

Naturally his future was largely influenced by the religious atmosphere in which he was brought up. Though afterwards involved in a tremendous conflict with the Church of his time, Luther was always ready to acknowledge how much he owed to that Church. The Church secured that children at home and at school should learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, should pray and sing hymns and psalms. The Gospels and Epistles were read in the mother tongue and sermons were preached in German; the catechism was taught, at any rate to Luther. However, he seems to have been placed in a better religious environment than that which many similar towns could provide. The simple family faith which Luther learned was in strange contrast to the element of fear which was the chief motive for religious observance at large. The fear of plague, of a Turkish invasion, of hell fire, begat a restless desire for pilgrimage, a belief in the efficacy of relics and of penances as means of arresting divine wrath. The parish priests were often incompetent or immoral, and the chief religious influence was exerted by certain monastic orders, the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian friars, who heard confessions, comforted souls, baptized and taught children without asking a fee. Luther himself tells us that his childish beliefs were coloured by this element of fear which was expressed in the religious art as well as in the practice of the age. God was a Being of sublime unapproachable holiness, and not the loving Father of mankind. Jesus was not the Saviour whom children conscious of wrong could approach with frank confidence, but a stern and threatening judge of the quick and the dead, against whose wrath intercession must be sought through the saints and specially the Virgin. The intercession, again, of the Virgin herself must be sought through another intercessor, and hence the worship of her mother, St. Anne, became popular; the mining town of Anneberg, built in 1496, was named after her. The popular ideas of the devil provided a sombre background to this gloomy theology. Luther's belief in witchcraft seems to have been sincere. At the same time there was an optimistic vigour in his character which reappeared in later years under the influence of new religious beliefs; his delight in the beauties of Nature, which is obvious in his writings, is an outcome of the same tendency.

In 1501 Luther went to Erfurt University—his name may still be read on the matriculation roll, *Martinus Luther ex Mansfeldt.* His father could now afford to pay the expense of a University career, and intended that his son should study law. Erfurt possessed at this

time the most famous of German Universities; it was a town foundation, and its degree ceremonies were attended by the guilds and town magistrates. It was also closely allied to the Church; the Archbishop of Mayence was its chancellor; monks were to be found amongst its professors, who were sworn to teach nothing heretical, and who heard mass in a body at the beginning of every term. Luther entered the faculty of philosophy, and studied logic, dialectic and rhetoric, physics and astronomy, which subjects were a preparation for the medieval jurist as well as for the theologian, and were taught in the medieval fashion of abstract classification and division without reference to reality. The most vigorous supporter and the best exponent of this medieval scholasticism was John Trutvetter, Luther's favourite professor. The nature of universal ideas, the rival claims of realism and nominalism, or the formal logic for which those who, wearied of discussing the relation of thought to reality, had abandoned the controversy about universals, were not the only elements of culture at Erfurt. The University was one of the chief German centres of the Humanist movement; it issued the first Greek book in Greek type, a grammar, during Luther's first University year. Luther read the chief Latin authors and studied Greek. He learned to admire Cicero and Virgil, and made the acquaintance of the most enthusiastic Humanists in the University. But he was himself by choice and temperament a philosopher. He was a hard-working student—took his bachelor's degree in 1502 and his master's degree in 1505. He seemed to have reached the summit of earthly ambition. "What a moment", he writes, "of majesty and splendour was that when on taking the degree of Master, torches were carried before one and honour was paid to one. I think that no worldly joy can equal it." His father allowed him to buy some expensive books for his legal studies—he seems to have begun attendance at lectures in the faculty of law; to the astonishment of his friends and family he suddenly retired to a convent and became a monk.

Luther's reasons for this step have never been explained. The only reliable authority in such a case must be himself, and, though his writings are full of autobiographical details, he says little or nothing of his religious feelings or inward life during his years at Erfurt. He says that his resolve was sudden, and was taken because "he doubted of himself"; and there is no further information obtainable. The death of a friend, an accident while travelling, a violent thunderstorm, an illness, have been imagined or adduced as events which determined him to take the step. The fact seems to be that Luther's inward life was obsessed from childhood upwards with fear of the wrath of God. Could he escape the judgment of that wrath and the eternal fires of perdition if he remained in the world? "The more we wash our hands, the fouler they become," was a favourite saying of Luther's. Human endeavour can never of itself gain a place in Paradise. This may have been the point of doubt which drove Luther to a convent, and in view of his character and training no other can be plausibly conceived.

Luther proposed to join the society of the Augustinian monks, a confraternity paying special reverence to the Virgin and St. Anne, strong upholders of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal supremacy. They were learned, were well known as preachers, were urgent in good works, and generally represented the best side of medieval piety. The rules of the order did not grant immediate admission: when a novice had proved his earnestness, he was obliged to undergo a year's probation. Luther, therefore, had time to inform his father of his intention. "He was near going mad about it—he addressed me in terms that showed his displeasure and renounced all further affection"; but at length Hans Luther was reluctantly persuaded to yield, and after a year's noviciate Luther took the vows and began to study theology, including the Bible, and to share in the regular life of the convent. His great ability aroused the admiration of his teachers. But Luther had joined the order not to study theology, but to save his soul, and the next two years were chiefly filled with self-tormentings upon this problem of sin and salvation. How could he keep the law of God and thus attain to the righteousness of God? The effort was impossible. Why, then, should his Creator punish him for failure to keep a law which all must break? The law of God was inexorable; yet man could never fulfil its demands. God had promised forgiveness; but forgiveness must be preceded by repentance and contrition. Had his contrition been deep enough or his repentance complete? Augustine could have helped Luther here with his teaching that salvation depends on the grace of God and his willingness to pardon, not upon the willingness of man. But the Augustinian order was totally ignorant of the tenets of Augustine. It was John von Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the order, who calmed Luther's doubts by showing that fellowship with God resolves the contradiction which reduced him to despair; the righteousness of God might become the possession of man in and through Christ. Luther's severe penances, his fastings and confessions, were waste of time so long as he failed to perceive the real object of repentance.

Luther thus found peace of mind, and shortly afterwards was ordained on 2 May, 1507. His father was present at the ceremony, not because he approved of his son's determination, but from respect to the Church. Luther was able to accept the theory of priesthood without difficulty; he interpreted his duties as a confessor in the light of his own experience. God above could forgive sins, but man could at best warn those who came for guidance and direct them to the grace of God. He continued his theological studies, and in 1508 was sent by his confraternity to Wittenberg as a lecturer. The University of Wittenberg had been founded by the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony. He held a high opinion of the Augustinian Eremites, by whom he had been educated, and consulted Staupitz concerning the formation of the University, upon which he could not afford any great expenditure. A further proof of confidence in Luther as a zealous member of the order and a capable man of affairs

was shown by his selection to go to Rome on the business of the order. The Augustinian Eremites were divided into reformed and unreformed converts at that time; Staupitz was anxious to heal this schism and to unite the whole of the order within the limits of reform, and difficulties arose in the course of the negotiations which necessitated the presence of a representative at Rome.

Luther's impressions of Rome were as disagreeable to him as they were profound. He approached the city as a pious pilgrim and as a firm believer in the sanctity of relics and the practice of pilgrimage. He departed in horror at the kind of religious life which he found to be prevalent. The priests, he says, were infidels, and openly scoffed at mass in the very act of celebration. The cardinals were men of depravity, and though the then Pope, Julius II, was at least a good man of business and an energetic administrator, the stories current concerning the late Alexander were appalling. The contempt with which Italians regarded "German blockheads" may not have predisposed Luther to a favourable judgment, but will not explain the vehemence of his indictment, which can be corroborated from other sources.

Luther then graduated in theology at Erfurt, and succeeded Staupitz in the chair of theology at Wittenberg. He took the oath, which did not bind him to obey the Pope, as was the case at other Universities, but to abstain from doctrines condemned by the Church. Something original and striking was expected from the new professor by those who knew him, nor were they disappointed. Luther's lectures on theology were strangely different from those of other professors: he did not confine himself to the exposition of text and doctrine, but regarded theology as an experimental science which ought to lead men to a practical result, the grace of God. In this respect the theology of the schoolmen, the system of penance, and the other means of grace provided by the Church had been a failure. Luther had been obliged to go back to St. Bernard and St. Augustine for this teaching, and having rediscovered their view of the Christian life he proposed to teach it to others. This was not to say that contemporary theology was wrong, but that it failed to touch the point which he considered of chief importance. Luther began with lectures on the *Psalms*—the large text copy between the lines of which he wrote his notes still exists, and enables the progress of his thought to be traced. His adherence to the medieval habit of finding types and allegories of Christ in the *Psalms* enabled him also to expound his theory of the doctrine of salvation. St. Augustine had enabled him to understand the Pauline doctrine of grace, and he lectured upon the *Epistles to the Romans* and *Galatians*, in which this question is especially prominent. He was elected Provincial Vicar for Thuringen, with the superintendence of convents. He acted as preacher in the town church of Wittenberg. He became a great and popular preacher, and his lectures attracted students from all parts of Germany; in fact he was a power in the land. These lectures and sermons fully explain his

position. Like St. Paul in his *Epistle to the Galatians*, he recalled men from the servitude of the law to the liberties of grace. The Pharisaism which taught that works could justify men in the sight of God, and that their penances and formal acts could secure forgiveness, was the theory that he rejected: the supreme value of faith was the central point of his teaching, faith that the mercy of God, for the sake of the Son, will forgive sins.

The struggle was now to begin which rent Western Christendom asunder, and the first link in the chain of efficient causes was the building of St. Peter's Church at Rome. Pope Leo X, who had succeeded Julius II, found the Papal treasury greatly depleted, and proceeded to collect money for the continuation of the building by the sale of indulgences. An indulgence is defined as follows by one of Luther's contemporaries, Johann von Paltz: "A remission of that temporal penalty deserved by the actual sins of penitents which has not been remitted in sacramental absolution—a remission granted by a prelate of the Church, in rational manner and for rational cause, on the ground of the penalty already paid by the undeserved punishment of the just". Distorted by popular opinion, the indulgence was taken to imply that forgiveness of sin was sold for money. The theory, however, is by no means so simple a matter, and the doctrine which Luther attacked was alike complicated in detail and obscure in principle. In the early Church, flagrant sin implied separation of the sinners from the Christian community—in a word, excommunication. For readmission, not only repentance, but outward signs of repentance, were required as a guarantee that the repentance was real; these signs might be gifts to the Church, fastings, and the like. Cases arose when real repentance was present but the visible tokens of it could not be given, as in case of deathbed repentances. The community was then satisfied with the sinner's assurance. The practice of private instead of public confession produced further developments in this direction: a penitentiary system was formulated assigning particular penances to special sins. These penances were often lengthy and a cause of inconvenience, and it was deemed possible to commute them for a monetary fine to be used for the benefit of the Church. The sinner might by repentance escape the torments of hell, but unless he performed his penance he would suffer those of perdition. At the outset of the thirteenth century the theory of indulgences was further strengthened by the conception of the "Treasury of Merits". The faithful are one community, the good deeds of the members are the property of all, and sinners may benefit by the good deeds of their fellow men as by the inexhaustible merits of the sacrifice of Christ. Thus the doctrine arose that there was a common treasury containing an accumulation of good deeds performed by saints and faithful Christians, and that this could be dispensed by the Pope to believers. Hence an indulgence might not only be an equivalent for some penance to be performed, it might also be a cheque drawn upon the treasury of merit, and applicable as well to the future as to the past.

Further, absolution following upon confession and contrition relieved the sinner of the pains of hell, but not from those of purgatory, for these latter were part of the "temporal" punishment which every sinner incurred, and were in the next world what penance was in this. But an indulgence could secure the sinner against the prospect of purgatory, and not only himself, but his relatives and friends who might be already dead. Hence indulgences providing for remission of earthly penances came to be regarded as less valuable than those which could remit the pains of purgatory, while it was obviously the duty of the pious to benefit in this respect, not only themselves, but their parents and relatives.

This retributive theory of sin and punishment, with the quantitative valuation of either and the credit and debtor account which might be balanced by cash payment, may seem grotesque enough at first sight and when bluntly stated. But it must be remembered that the medieval mind accepted the religious machinery, which the lapse of centuries had developed, without cavil or question. Some provinces objected to see their districts drained of money for the benefit of Rome, and were inclined to be sceptical concerning the destination of the funds raised by the sale of indulgences. Few people would think for themselves or were capable of examining the system upon a scriptural basis. But Luther, holding the views he did, was bound to regard the indulgence system as a source of moral corruption. Pope Leo X produced an indulgence in 1513 and delegated it by commission to Albert, archbishop of Mayence. He was the brother of the elector of Brandenburg and one of the great ecclesiastical princes of Germany. His elevation to the archbishopric had been conditional upon a heavy payment to the Pope, which had forced him to borrow a large sum from the Fuggers, the well-known bankers of Augsburg. He had induced the Pope to allow him to farm the indulgences over a large part of Germany and to keep half the profits, with which he was repaying his loan. Albert had commissioned a Dominican monk, John Tetzel, to proclaim and sell the indulgence of 1513. The entry of a seller of indulgences to a town was a solemn affair. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities went out to meet him in procession and escorted him to the church with hymns. There, before the altar, the Pope's banner with its large red cross was displayed, and before the banner was placed a large chest to receive the money. The commissary then preached upon the virtues of the indulgence, urging people to buy. "Your parents and relatives are crying out to you: 'We are in the bitterest torments; you could deliver us by giving a small sum, and yet you will not. We gave you birth, fed you, and left you our worldly goods; yet such is your cruelty that you, who might so easily set us free, leave us here to lie in Hades.'"

The Elector of Saxony had refused to allow Tetzel to enter his dominions in 1517, but the commissary had visited towns upon the frontier, and people from Wittenberg had made purchases in these places. Some whose confessions Luther heard appealed to letters of

indulgence which they had then bought, and asked Luther to acknowledge them. When he refused, they complained to Tetzel, who was not slow to wrath. Luther was in some perplexity. He was no mere Quixotic reformer, anxious to make a stir in the world, and he recognized that it might be possible to make out a plausible case for indulgences in theory and upon abstract theological grounds. But Luther's religion was eminently practical, and it was the practical moral effect of the system upon the minds of the people that drove him to attack it: the people were incapable of drawing fine theological distinctions, and undoubtedly believed that an indulgence remitted not only the penalties but also the guilt of sins. Luther could not shut his eyes to the moral degradation which such belief implied. He wrote to certain bishops on the matter. Some replied with courtesy, others with mocking; none were ready to act. So, on 31 October, 1517, Luther posted ninety-five theses on the doors of the castle and church at Wittenberg. These theses or propositions were intended as a challenge for disputation, and such a method of drawing attention to the subject and arranging for an argument upon it was customary in Luther's day.

The theses read as though they had been drawn up in some haste. There is a lack of arrangement and of logical continuity; some propositions are repetitions of others. But the general argument was clear and crushing. Constructively it was shown that the penitence, the godly contrition, which Christ requires, must be heartfelt, and that without this there can be no remission of sins. Destructively it was asserted that the Church cannot remit what God has imposed—the sense of guilt and the divine punishment for sin. Hence the Christian who truly repents does not need an indulgence; and to one who will not repent an indulgence is useless. An unbiased theologian, uninterested in the sale of indulgences, would have found little to reprehend in Luther's theses. They attacked none of the essential points in the theory of penance or of priestly absolution: the popular idea concerning the efficacy of indulgences was one which no theologian had ever ventured to assert; the system itself was not a Church dogma, and other theologians had riddled it upon the theoretical side far more effectively than Luther had done. But Luther happened to give voice to a widely prevalent indignation which no one before him had ventured to expose; his views were sufficiently practical to be intelligible even to the unlearned in theology, and when the ninety-five theses were printed they enjoyed an unprecedented circulation throughout Germany, while the sale of indulgences began to decline.

By the end of the year Tetzel had induced one Wimpera to write a set of counter-theses for him. John Eck also answered Luther's contention. At Rome a Dominican, Sylvester Mezzolini, presented the case for the Pope in a dialogue. The Pope had received a copy of Luther's theses from the archbishop of Mayence, and underrated the ferment which they had caused. The general theme of these answers to Luther was the infallibility of the Pope. The Roman

Church is the Universal Church and the Pope is the Church. His acts, therefore, can be no less valid than the decisions of a general council, and hence discussion about the validity of indulgences is otiose. If they are inefficacious, the Pope is fallible, and the Universal Church can err. Meanwhile Luther had attended the annual chapter meeting of the Augustine Eremites at Heidelberg, and had heard much discussion upon his views. On his return he set about the composition of his *Resolutiones* (Solutions), a carefully reasoned work, which he dedicated to the Pope himself. Leo, however, had now realized the serious nature of the movement—interruptions to the sale of indulgences was bound to cause serious financial embarrassment at Rome—and he summoned Luther to Rome to answer for his actions in July, 1518. If Luther accepted the summons the prospects of his return were very remote. He therefore wrote to the elector's chaplain, Spalatin, urging that the professor of a German University should be called to account in Germany. The elector was ready to support Luther, of whom he had a high opinion for the success with which he had made Wittenberg a popular University. Spalatin also wrote to the Emperor Maximilian, whose penetrating insight perceived that Luther's case might have political as well as religious consequences. "The elector should take care of that monk," he said; "he will be useful to us some day." The Pope agreed to the representations of elector and emperor, and Luther was ordered to present himself before the Papal legate, Cajetan, at Augsburg.

The Diet at Augsburg had seen the elevation of the archbishop of Mayence to the dignity of a cardinal, and the presentation to the Emperor Maximilian of the pilgrimage symbols of a hat and a dagger, before Luther reached the town. His Holiness invited the emperor to join a crusade against the Turks, and hoped that the Diet would consent to the imposition of a tax throughout the empire to raise funds for that purpose. This suggestion was received with general disfavour. The Diet seized the opportunity to bring up a list of long-standing grievances—the large sums extorted from Germany under various pretexts, interference in ecclesiastical patronage, and so forth. The bishop and clergy of Liége presented a remonstrance to the Diet upon their own initiative, protesting against Roman interference in such violent language that Luther was astonished when he read it. If the Pope wished to retain his influence in Germany it was obviously sound policy to avoid increasing the existing irritation by a prosecution of Luther. Moreover, the aged Emperor Maximilian wished to see the question of his successor settled, and the Papacy could not afford to alienate the sympathy of the Elector of Saxony in view of the near possibility of an election. The emperor himself advised the Pope to be cautious in his treatment of Luther. Luther was indeed courteously received by the Papal legate, but he was told that discussion would not be allowed until he had recanted his heresies and promised to avoid any future resistance to the authority of Rome. Luther requested the legate to name the heresies, and the result was

some discussion which led to nothing. Luther returned to Wittenberg, appealed "from the Pope ill informed to the same when better informed", appealed also to a general council, and wrote an account of his interview with the legate, which found a ready circulation throughout Germany.

Luther appears to have been very despondent at the result of the Augsburg Diet. He had no desire to break with Rome; his chief wish was to proceed quietly with the development of Wittenberg University, at which his friend, Melanchthon, had recently begun to lecture upon Greek, and which his own efforts were likely to make a most flourishing seat of learning. But he was now in a far stronger position than when he had nailed his theses to the door of the castle church. He had public sympathy behind him. Politicians saw in his efforts the means of relief from the financial burdens imposed by Rome; humanists were angry that a scholar should have been refused a hearing; patriots felt that Rome had once more contemptuously disregarded German claims because they were German; Luther's town and University knew the sincerity of his motives and were whole-hearted in their support. The Pope realized that he could not support the Augsburg decision without further enquiry, and therefore sent a special commissioner to Germany to report upon the whole question. For this purpose he selected Charles von Miltitz, a Saxon noble and the elector's agent at Rome. Leo X furnished him with letters to Frederick and the decoration of the Golden Rose; these documents and others to the elector's advisers urged the necessity of surrendering Luther, the "Son of Satan", to the authority of the Papal see.

Miltitz was a diplomatist, and he soon saw that the Pope had to deal, not with Luther, but with Germany. In view of the force of public opinion he deemed it better to keep the Golden Rose out of sight. Tetzel declined to come to meet him, alleging that his life was not safe if he left his convent. Miltitz, after writing to the elector, resolved to have an interview with Luther. He found Luther quite prepared to make certain concessions; he was willing to write a submissive letter to the Pope, to urge the honour of the Roman Church upon the people, and to say that indulgences were of use in remitting canonical penances. This, in fact, he did, though he was inclined to think that the spirit of compromise shown by Miltitz and the compliments which he paid him were of a hypocritical character. Meanwhile Charles of Spain, Maximilian's grandson, had been elected emperor as Charles V; he was only nineteen years of age, and a stranger to German life and thought. But the Pope had opposed his election and the elector of Saxony had supported it, and for these reasons Leo was obliged to act cautiously. Luther's sometime friend, John Eck of Ingolstadt, provided the next development in the situation by publishing an attack upon Luther's doctrines, which ended in a challenge to a public dispute, to which the question of Papal supremacy was now added. Luther had investigated the evidence for this claim, and was grieved to find that the Papal decretals, the early history of

the Papacy, and the authority of Scripture provided inadequate foundation for the claims of Rome. It was necessary for him to refocus his views upon this subject, and he was forced to the belief that the Roman Catholic Church and Christendom were not convertible terms. The Universal Church can only be the whole body of believers in Christ, whether ruled by Rome or not. At any rate a disputation might be the means of throwing some light upon this and other questions, and for this reason Luther readily accepted the challenge. He had not entirely realized that such controversies are apt to generate rather heat than light.

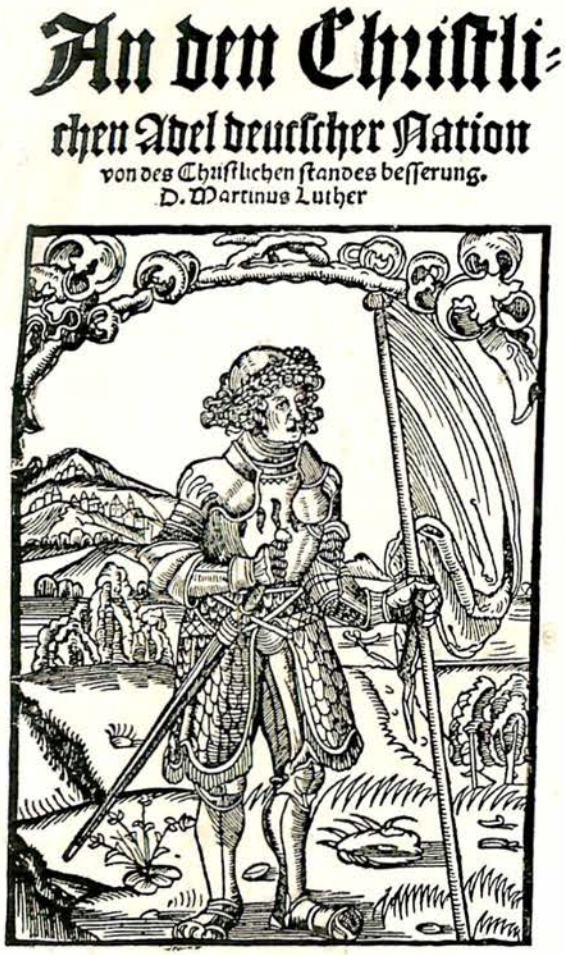
The disputation aroused immense interest. Two hundred armed students accompanied their professor, and a host of theologians and learned laymen flocked to the scene. It provided a contemporary writer with material for a personal description of Luther: "He is of middle stature, his body thin and so wasted by care and study that all his bones may be counted. He is in the prime of life. His voice is clear and melodious. His learning and his knowledge of Scripture are extraordinary; he has nearly everything at his fingers' ends. Greek and Hebrew he understands sufficiently to give his judgment upon the interpretation of the Scriptures. In speaking he has a vast store of subjects and words at his command; he is, moreover, refined and sociable in his life and manners; he has no rough stoicism or pride about him and he understands how to adapt himself to different persons and times. In society he is lively and witty. He is always fresh, cheerful, and at his ease and has a pleasant countenance, however hard his enemies may threaten him, so that one cannot but believe that Heaven is with him in his great undertaking." The result of the disputation was a dialectical triumph for Eck. Luther was forced to declare that the tenets of Wycliff and Huss were not entirely wrong, and that the Council of Constance, which condemned them, was mistaken in some of its findings. This was all that Eck wanted: he had forced Luther to declare himself a heretic, and had thus cleared the way for Papal procedure. But he had also done the very thing which Miltitz had been so anxious to avoid: he had made Luther a public figure, and had called attention to doctrines for which he had won adherents in the very act of refuting them. Luther returned to Wittenberg feeling that the disputation had been a failure. It was a failure from his own point of view—the truth concerning Papal authority seemed as far away as ever; but it had forced more people to consider the question than ever before. The disputation had shown Germany the possibility of a common policy, and that policy was anti-Papal.

Luther spent his time until 1521 in University work and in polemical writings. Controversy never made him forgetful of the interests of Wittenberg. He worked hard to secure the appointment of a competent professor of Hebrew; he induced a printer to settle at the University and to set up a press for German, Latin, and Greek. He also produced three epoch-making pamphlets which were widely circulated and eagerly read; they are known as the three great Reformation treatises. They

were entitled: *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reformation of the German Commonwealth*, and *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*. Certain common principles run through them all. For the individual Christian the supreme possession is faith, which alone makes his religion real. Having faults he will see the unreality of the system by which the Roman Church holds the Church in bondage. It is the duty, therefore, of all Christians to be free, and freedom can only be attained by united opposition to Rome.

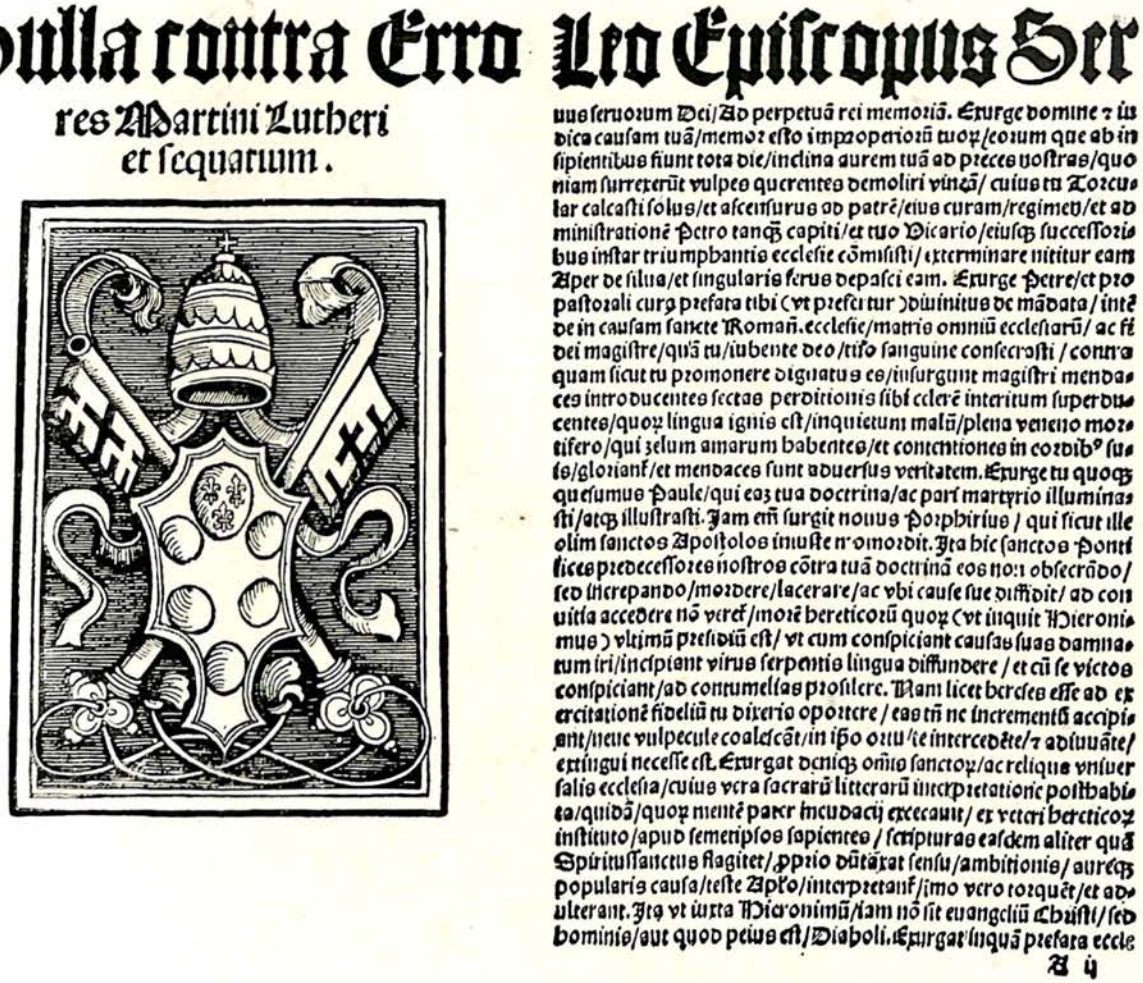
Rome had opposed all attempts at reform; if the state demanded reform, answer was given that the ecclesiastical power was supreme. If the words of Scripture were adduced, answer was given that the Pope also knew the meaning of the Scriptures. If a council was demanded, answer was given that the Pope only could summon a council. This supremacy, intolerable in itself, was founded upon no warrant in Holy Scripture, of the interpretation of which the Pope had no right to claim a monopoly. The expense of maintaining the Papacy was a grievous and unnecessary burden upon Germany and other countries. There should be a national German Church governed by its own council, as the Diet represented the German state. Internal religious reforms of monasteries and nunneries, of pilgrimages, and of festivals were also necessary in the interests of decency and morality. Such was the argument of the last of the three treatises, which was brought out as rapidly as it could be printed.

Luther was probably not himself aware how far-reaching a reform he had initiated. He was not merely opposing his personal views to those of the Roman Catholic Church; he was voicing the unconscious feeling of the German nation. The Roman Catholic system was the result, voluntary or involuntary, of an attempt to carry into the spiritual life the legal habit of thought which had characterized Roman action throughout the world. It seemed that religious affairs, questions of conscience, and matters of Church discipline could be codified and reduced to law just as easily as affairs strictly legal, and legal fiction then in practice took the place of reality. But to such a system the German nationality was wholly antipathetic. More philosophically minded, they were not content with formulæ, but desired to get to the root of the matter. And if the Reformation movement began, as all movements must, with individual action, it marked an epoch in European history simply for the reason that individual action in this case represented a national opposition. Of all Luther's pamphlets the *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* produced the most powerful and far-reaching effect. But the Pope was ready with his answer. So early as 16 June, 1520, the Papal Bull, excommunicating Luther, had been published at Rome. The Bull, which began with the words: "Arise, O Lord, and avenge thy cause!" stated that a wild beast had broken into the vineyard of the Lord and was there seeking to devour; that the German nation had always been regarded by the Pope with special affection, and that they were under obligation



An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des Christlichen standes besserung. D. Martinus Luther

Facsimile (reduced) of title page of Luther's pamphlet: "Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"



Bulla contra Erro res Martini Lutheri et sequatium.

Leo Episcopus Ser uus seruorum Dei/Ad perpetuā rei memoriā. Exurge domine ⁊ iudica causam tuā/memor esto improperiorū tuoꝝ/eorum que ab insipientibus fiunt tota die/inclina aurem tuā ad preces nostras/quoniam surrexerūt vulpes querentes demoliri vineā/ cuius tu Torcular calcasti solus/et ascensurus ad patrē/eius curam/regimen/et administrationē Petro tanq̄ capiti/et tuo Vicario/eiusq̄ successoribus instar triumphantis ecclesie cōmisisti/ exterminare nititur eam Aper de silua/et singularis ferus depasci eam. Exurge Petre/et pro pastorali cura prefata tibi (vt prefertur) diuinitus de mādata/ intē de in causam sancte Romañ. ecclesie/matris omniū ecclesiarū/ ac fidei magistre/quā tu/iubente deo/tuo sanguine consecrasti / contra quam sicut tu promonere dignatus es/insurgunt magistri mendaces introducentes sectas perditionis sibi celerē interitum superducentes/quoꝝ lingua ignis est/inquietum malū/plena veneno mortifero/qui zelum amarum habentes/et contentiones in cordib⁹ suis/gloriant/et mendaces sunt aduersus veritatem. Exurge tu quoq̄ quesumus Paule/qui eas tua doctrina/ac pari martyrio illuminasti/atq̄ illustrasti. Jam eñ surgit nouus Porphirius / qui sicut ille olim sanctos Apostolos iniuste momordit. Ita hic sanctos Pontifices predecessores nostros cōtra tuā doctrinā eos non obsecrādo/ sed increpando/mordere/lacerare/ac vbi cause sue diffidit/ ad conuitia accedere nō veret/morē hereticorū quoꝝ (vt inquit Hieronimus) vltimū presidiū est/ vt cum conspiciant causas suas damnatum iri/incipiant virus serpentis lingua diffundere / et cū se victos conspiciant/ad contumelias prosilere. Nam licet hereses esse ad exercitationē fideliū tu dixeris oportere / eas tñ ne incrementū accipiant/neue vulpecule coalescāt/in ipso ortu/te intercedēte/⁊ adiuuāte/ extingui necesse est. Exurgat deniq̄ omīs sanctoꝝ/ac reliqua vniuersalis ecclesia/cuius vera sacrarū litterarū interpretatione posthabita/quidā/quoꝝ mentē pater incudacij excecauit/ ex veteri hereticoꝝ instituto/apud semetipsos sapientes / scripturas easdem aliter quā Spiritussanctus flagitet/ ꝓprio dūtaxat sensu/ambitionis/ aureq̄ popularis causa/teste Apl'o/interpretant/imo vero torquēt/et adulterant. Ita vt iuxta Hieronimū/iam nō sit euangeliū Christi/sed hominis/aut quod peius est/Diaboli. Exurgat inquā prefata eccle

A ij

Facsimiles (reduced) of title page and first page of the Papal Bull against Luther. Published at Rome, 16 June, 1520. A copy was publicly burned by Luther at Wittenberg on December 10 of the same year.

REFORMATION DOCUMENTS: LUTHER'S APPEAL AND THE POPE'S REPLY

to him, as they owed the empire to the Roman Church. Forty-one propositions from Luther's writings were rejected and condemned as heretical, and his works collectively were sentenced to be burned. The Pope, however, was willing to receive Luther graciously, like the prodigal son, if he would be converted and live—a process for which the Bull allowed sixty days. If he declined to recant, he and his adherents must be regarded as withered branches of Christ and punished according to law, the law in this case providing for burning at the stake. The Bull reached Germany on 21 September, and Eck, who was in charge of it, posted it in several towns and sent a copy to Wittenberg. It attracted no great respect in Germany and was received rather with derision and indignation. The German bishops seemed unwilling to publish it, and the temper of the crowds in some districts was positively dangerous. Luther published a tract in German and Latin, *Against the Bull of Anti-Christ.* He was supported by Ulrich von Hütten, a prominent figure in the humanist movement, the heir of an old Franconian family and the possessor, not only of a particularly scurrilous pen, but of a ready sword. He had already attacked the claims of the Papacy by republishing a work which the famous Italian humanist, Laurentius Valla, had written long before on the pretended donation of Constantine, and in which he had exposed the forgery of the edict purporting to grant the possession of the Western World to the Roman See. But his special characteristic was his intense German patriotism, which he was prepared to vindicate by the methods of medieval knighthood. Germany at the mercy of Roman avarice, Germany scornfully and contemptuously treated by Italian prelates, were the particular grievances which aroused his animosity. At the present juncture he issued a furious appeal for a general rising in Germany against the tyranny of Rome. In fact, he actually proposed to seize the persons of the two Papal legates, Aleander and Caraccioli, whom the Pope had sent to Germany to execute the Bull and to secure Luther's condemnation by the emperor. Luther, while well aware that no good could come of such an attempt, could not refrain from remarking in a letter to a friend: "If only he had been fortunate enough to catch them". The emperor had already been induced by the legates to consent to the sentence in the Bull condemning Luther's works to be burned, and burned they were, at Cologne and Mayence, though the threatening attitude of the crowd in the latter town obliged the legates to leave somewhat precipitately. Luther immediately replied to this execution of the Bull in his own way. On 10 December he publicly announced that on the following morning the Papal decretals and Bull would be burned, and invited all the students of Wittenberg to attend. The University and the town appeared on the appointed spot to a man. One of the masters of arts built a fire, and Luther threw the Papal Bull upon it with the words: "Because thou has vexed the Holy One of the Lord (Christ), let everlasting fire consume thee". He then returned to the town, while the students sang a *Te Deum* on the spot and did a little more burning of Papal documents on their own account. Luther had

now definitely broken with the Pope and had raised a fire in the land that nothing could quench. "Such quarrelling and noise", writes a contemporary writer, "went on in Germany, that no town, district, village, or house was free from partisans, and every man was against the other." A shower of letters and pamphlets from the disputants began to descend upon the land, and it was even rumoured that a vast army of Bohemians, Saxons, and North Germans were preparing to march on Rome like the old-time Vandals and Goths. It was obvious that only one power could check the progress of the movement, and the Pope turned to the emperor.

Charles V opened his first Diet on 22 January, 1521, at Worms, a Diet of great political importance apart from its connection with Luther, though the latter was naturally the subject of absorbing interest. Charles himself was in a difficult position. He was the head of the Holy Roman Empire, he was also king of Spain and Naples, and had been brought up in the strict orthodoxy of the Church and in respect for her traditional ordinances. Moreover, the interests of his dominions were bound up with the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and he felt that a breach with Rome would be an extremely dangerous step. It is perfectly clear from the course of procedure in the Diet, and it is more than antecedently probable, that the emperor had not the smallest sympathy with Luther. On the other hand, Luther could not be condemned without the consent of the Diet, and Charles considered that Luther's case might enable him to make a profitable bargain with the Pope. Leo X had intrigued with France to prevent his election; it might now be possible to attach the Pope to his own cause. But again it was inadvisable for him to embark upon a policy which he might find himself unable to enforce. Conditions in Germany were totally different from those in Spain. As king of Spain he was absolute, but as emperor of Germany he was hampered by the Estates of the empire and by a whole web of intricate and complicated political relations.

The emperor therefore resolved that Luther should be heard at the Diet, and promised him a safe-conduct. Luther made his way to Worms in a style which seemed to the supporters of the Pope a kind of triumphal procession. On 16 April he appeared before the emperor and the Diet. A pile of his works was hastily collected and placed upon the table. It included some merely devotional writings concerning which no complaint had been made, such as *The Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*. Luther was asked by John Eck (not his former opponent, but another man of the same name) whether he was the author of the books and would retract what he had written. Luther had not expected to be confronted with a miscellaneous collection of his writings, and asked for time for consideration. He was granted until the next day, and reappeared before the Diet on 18 April. He then stated that his works were divided into three classes. In some he had set forth religious truths universally acknowledged and in others he had attacked principles and doctrines of the Papacy which harassed

the lives of Christians and devoured the wealth of Germany. In neither of these cases could he retract. Thirdly, he had written against individuals who had attempted to support the Papacy, and here he might have been more violent than a Christian should be. Even these he could not retract, but could only say, in the words of Jesus: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if well, why smitest thou me?" If evidence could be produced from the Scriptures which would confute his views he would be the first to burn the pile of books before him. The speech was made in Latin and German for the benefit of the emperor. The emperor then told him, through Eck, that these matters had been decided by Church councils and were therefore beyond question; did Luther mean to retract what he had said concerning the Council of Constance? Luther replied that Popes and councils had often made mistakes, and that he must be convinced out of the Holy Scriptures, otherwise he would not retract against his own conscience. The emperor asked him, through Eck, whether he believed that the general council could make a mistake. Luther offered to prove it, and concluded with the famous words: "Here I stand, I can do no otherwise, God help me". At this point the emperor stopped discussion and broke up the Diet about eight o'clock in the evening. The next day he read a speech to the princes stating that he would send Luther back in safety but would treat him as a heretic. The German princes insisted on further negotiations with Luther, and a committee of eight attempted to find a working compromise. This, however, proved impossible. The emperor asserted that the general council was infallible, and Luther declined to be bound by anything but his own conscience and Holy Scripture. He therefore received word from the emperor that he would be given a safe-conduct for twenty-one days to return home. On the next morning, 26 April, he departed.

If, as seemed likely, the empire condemned him, not even the Elector Frederick would be able to protect Luther at Wittenberg. As a matter of fact the ban of the empire was proclaimed against Luther, and the fact that it was dated on the day when Charles concluded a great treaty with the Pope, Leo X, has led many people to infer that the treaty was the price paid by the Pope for Luther's condemnation. On his homeward journey he was seized by a company of armed horsemen, drawn out of his carriage, and hurried away at full speed. He was taken to the castle of Wartburg, above Eisenach, and kept there in strict secrecy as a prisoner. This was, for the moment, the only form of protection which the elector could devise. Very few, whether friends or foes, had any idea of his whereabouts, and many believed that he had been made away with by his enemies.

Luther lived in Wartburg as a knight-prisoner, allowed his hair and beard to grow, and wore knight's dress and a sword at his side. He was free to go about as he pleased, and to take exercise outside in the company of a trusted servant. He was also able to correspond with his friends at Wittenberg. But the secret was well kept, and

very few people knew where he was. He spent his time in writing pamphlets and expositions of the Scriptures. This period of retirement was by no means entirely to his taste; for one thing, his Patmos, as he called it, did not improve his bodily health. Probably the lack of exercise and a diet more sumptuous than his ordinary simple fare were the cause of both ill health and of the manifestations of the devil which he afterwards described to his friends. The story that he threw his inkpot at the fiend is apocryphal; another castle can exhibit a similar inkstain from the same hand. At the same time he firmly believed, as did the men of his age, in the possibility of such apparitions, and was equally certain that he had been thus visited. Meanwhile, in Wittenberg and elsewhere, the movement was in progress for the abolition of monasticism and the transformation of the Mass and Communion into a more popular form of worship. An Augustinian monk, Zwilling, was the chief leader of the movement, which urged, not only that the laity should receive the Communion in both kinds, but also that monks and nuns might renounce their vows of celibacy if they found them insupportable. Luther was obliged to consider this question, and, while agreeing upon the general principle of the movement, urged upon the reformers that they should proceed slowly and that any kind of compulsion was to be avoided. His most important work during this period was the translation of the Bible, of which he completed the New Testament during his captivity. German versions of it were known before Luther's time, but they were founded on the Vulgate New Testament and perpetuated those errors of the Church against which reformers protested. The language of these translations, moreover, was in a style often difficult for the lower classes to understand. The success of Luther's translation was due to the fact that it was, in the first place, based upon original texts, and that it was written in the language of his own time. "One has first to ask", he said, "the mother in her home, the children in the street, the common man in the marketplace, and look at their mouths and see how they speak and thence interpret it to oneself and make them understand." Hence Luther's Bible holds a position in German literature analogous to that taken by the Authorized Version in our own language. Luther was the first writer to make the new High German a literary language, in the place of the old High and Low German which had held the field previously. Armed with this translation the reformers were able to oppose the infallibility of the Scriptures to the infallibility of the Church, though it must be said that Luther himself never regarded the Bible or his own translation of it as infallible. Everyone knows his condemnation of the *Epistle of St. James* as "an epistle of straw", because he was unable to reconcile the teaching of St. James with the teaching of St. Paul upon the question of faith and works. The later consequence was disputes with other reformers, who agreed with Luther in denying the infallibility of the Pope but did not share his views upon the textual criticism of the New Testament.

Meanwhile, at Wittenberg and in other quarters, the ferment pro-

ceeded apace. In December, 1520, there was a riot against the Mass, and on Christmas Day Luther's old supporter, Carlstadt, who had taken his place at Wittenberg, administered the Communion in both kinds, omitting those portions of the service which implied that the celebration was a sacrifice. He was supported by Zwilling, who denounced the pictures and images in the churches, and attempted to start a campaign of iconoclasm. Both men expressed their contempt of mere human learning. The enlightenment of the spirit was all a man need desire. In pursuance of this idea the reformers even succeeded in breaking up the town schools. Then attempts were made to introduce a system of communism. The revenues of the Church were thrown into a common stock, and money was advanced to the needy without interest. In short, reform in Luther's absence seemed likely to become fanaticism, and under one or other of the many forms of hysteria occasionally prevalent in the Middle Ages men began to preach a general revolution in which all priests were to be slain, all monasteries and godless men destroyed, and the kingdom of God established upon earth.

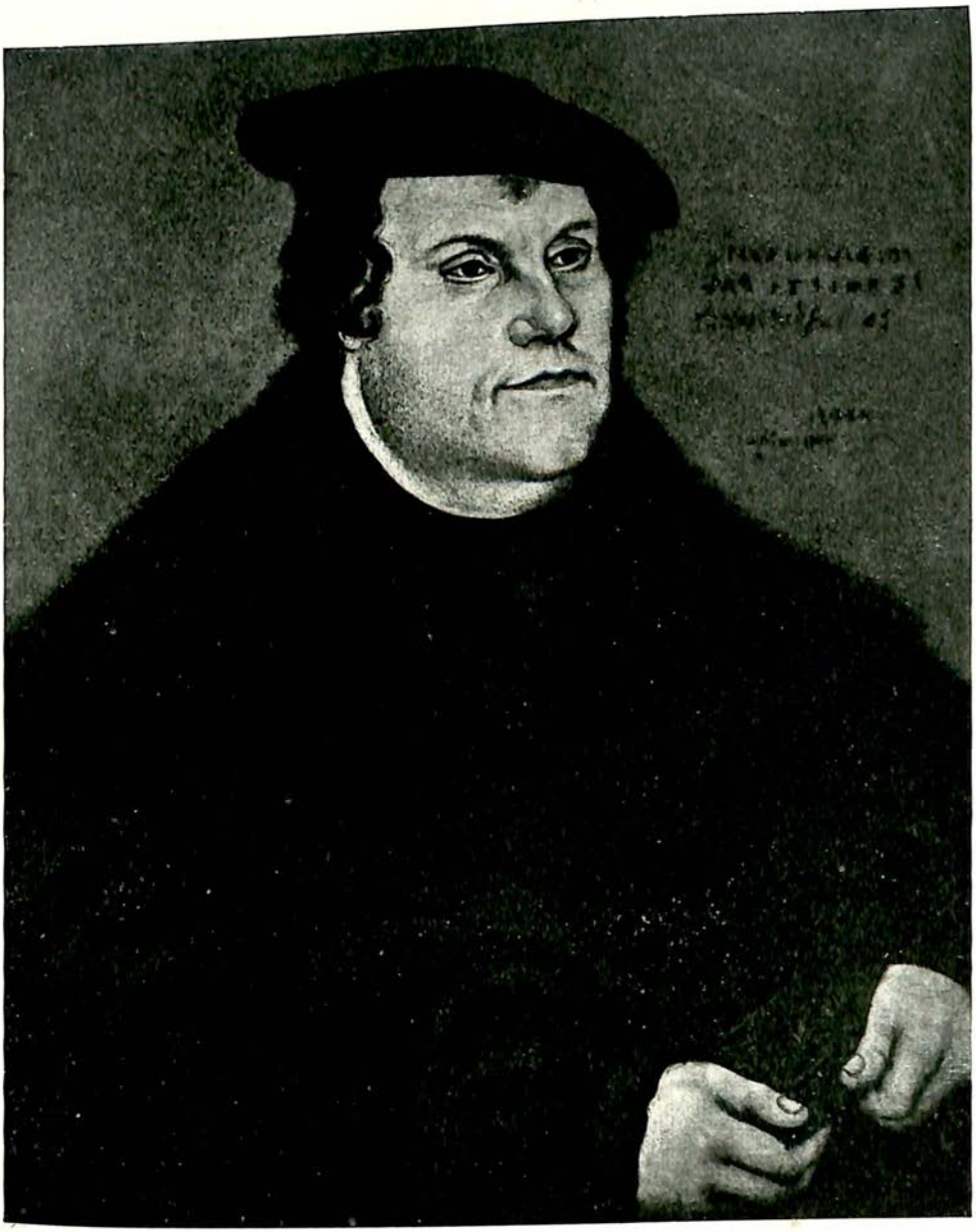
Luther had the strongest objection to any regeneration of the Church by forcible means. He felt, in any case, that any further advance in the direction of fanaticism would ruin the movement which he had begun, and he therefore resolved, with characteristic courage, to leave his retirement and return to Wittenberg. One who met him in the course of his journey during March, 1522, describes him as follows: "He was somewhat stout but upright, bending backward rather than stooping, with deep, dark eyes and eyebrows, twinkling and sparkling so that one could hardly look steadily at them." On his return to Wittenberg he steadily converted the town to his point of view by a course of sermons; the fanatics confessed their mistakes or departed to labour elsewhere. Luther himself returned to the Augustinian monastery, and Mass was celebrated in the various churches according to the tastes of the worshippers. It is a remarkable testimony to Luther's influence and force of character that he was thus speedily able to check the excesses into which hot-headed and short-sighted supporters may lead any movement.

During the early part of 1522 Luther continued his former work, also visiting certain neighbouring towns. He revised his translation of the New Testament and began work upon the Old. He wrote an answer to that treatise by which King Henry VIII had gained for himself from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith". The king's work was a learned and scholastic treatise written against Luther's *Babylonish Captivity*. The reformer showed that the king, while supporting the Roman Catholic system, merely explained what it was and not why it was, that he accepted the traditions of the councils without any attempt to examine their validity. He had, therefore, failed to answer Luther's fundamental point, and must help to prove the truth of the proverb that "there are no greater fools than kings and princes". He also began, at the end of the year, a treatise

On the Secular Power and How Far Obedience is Due to It. In this he laid down the principle that the institutions of civil governments are no less divine than those of spiritual governments, and that the temporal government extends only to persons and property and not to the affairs of the soul. Luther had originally revolted against the attempt to provide a legal code which could govern the spiritual questions and which had been systematized in the course of ages by the Roman Catholic Church. By this means the Church had acquired control over the secular lives of the laity, and the real popularity of the Reformation was due to the belief which Luther now announced. He believed that the Church had encroached upon areas which belonged to the civil government. Now many were prepared to reject the dogmas of Rome as a whole, and enormous numbers were prepared to sacrifice a great deal in the cause of unity and for liberation from the Papal supremacy. Luther had now reached a full comprehension of this point, and the treatise which he wrote in the winter of 1522 shows how clearly he realized that a religious involved also a political reformation.

In the winter of 1522 the Diet assembled at Nuremberg and received a demand from the new Pope, Adrian VI, for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy. The Diet replied by repeating the grievances of the German nation, and the next meeting of the Diet in 1524 was confronted with a fresh demand from Clement VII, who had succeeded Adrian. The states of the empire stipulated for a careful examination into Luther's doctrines before they proceeded to enforce the imperial ban against him; in other words, they attempted to shelve the question. Meanwhile, Luther's doctrines were spreading far and wide. He was obliged to urge certain principles upon the reforming congregations for the conduct of public worship. In general he was actuated by the desire to advance cautiously and to enable congregations to take an intelligent part in the service. For this purpose he brought out the first German hymnbook in 1524, written partly by himself and partly by his friends, and containing hymns which have become a permanent element in the religious life of Germany, such as *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,* though this latter was not, perhaps, composed until 1527. Luther also did his best to encourage education; far from following the influence of the fanatics, he insisted that the study of languages and history was particularly necessary as a foundation for knowledge, whether of the Scriptures or anything else. In short, until the end of the year 1524, Luther was occupied in the work of checking extravagances and consolidating the achievements already won.

His acquaintance with Erasmus, the leader of the humanist party, had now become enmity. Erasmus did not consider that Luther's doctrines were worth the ferment they had aroused. He was a scholar and wished to be left undisturbed at his studies. He was urged to champion the cause of the Church against England. And the ensuing controversy upon the subject of free will which presented no new issue in the Reformation movement produced a complete breach between Luther and the humanist movement. Another movement, however,



MARTIN LUTHER (1532)

From the painting by Lucas Cranach in the Dresden Gallery

Lucas Cranach, the elder (1472–1553), may be regarded as pre-eminently the painter of the German Reformation. He was the intimate friend of Luther, of whom there are a number of portraits from his brush. The one here reproduced was painted when Luther was nearly fifty years old.

completely occupied Luther's attention. He had frequently been reproached with attempts to foment a political revolution, and his assertions that human authority might be resisted when it was contrary to the word of God were enough to give colour to these charges. The outbreak of the Peasants' War was regarded as a complete corroboration of them. Peasant revolts had occurred in various parts of the Continent as early as 1490, and peasant discontent was a social feature which no one could refuse to recognize. The cause, as usual, was economic. The upper classes suffered under increasing prices and agricultural depression, and shifted their burdens on to the shoulders of the lowest social class. The system of land tenure also pressed the peasant severely and his small holdings in many cases had shrunk to infinitesimal dimensions. Consequently the soil was prepared for the seed of the gospel of discontent. Luther's preaching did not directly produce the Peasants' Revolt, but the connection between the two movements is obvious. Custom and habit are the binding forces of society under a government. Luther destroyed the habit of involuntary obedience to the ecclesiastical system, and the inference from the peasants' point of view was perfectly natural. If they were not bound to obey the Church, why were they bound to obey the State?

Various preachers of Luther's school, but with far more radical tendencies, stimulated this movement, which came to a head in 1524. A rising in Schaffhausen ended in the presentation by the peasants of a list of grievances, all of which are concerned with agricultural affairs and not at all or in any respect with Luther's preaching. From this centre the movement rapidly spread throughout the district of Suabia; and as it grew the religious element became more prominent, probably because it provided a central point round which insurgents with very different views and grievances might rally. An exiled duke of Würtemberg, one Ulrich, joined them, and, in fact, representatives of every rank of society were eventually to be found among their forces. As soon as the territorial princes were able to collect their troops and to act in combination the Peasants'. Revolt became a failure. Their armies were defeated and their leaders executed; by the end of 1525 the movement was practically crushed. The failure of the Peasants' Revolt implied the failure of Luther's teaching so far as they were concerned. Their revolt was an attempt to secure justice against the oppressor, to whom they applied the biblical description and anathemas of those who grind the faces of the poor. Luther's declaration that the liberty of the gospel was a spiritual liberty did not attract them. Their grievances were real and admitted; their attempt at redress was met by defeat and slaughter; their faith in the gospel suffered correspondingly. Luther took the side of the princes when he considered that the revolt was becoming dangerous to the existing social order. He had at first threatened the princes with destruction by the peasants for their refusal to accept his teaching, but when the success of the movement alarmed him he denounced the peasants' leaders and hoped for their overthrow at the hands of the princes. The consequence was an alliance between

Lutheran state and Lutheran Church. Until 1525 Lutheranism had been a national movement; the common people had been its great supporters. After the Peasants' Revolt Lutheranism depended for its success upon the support of the princes. In 1524 the elector of Saxony had been converted to Luther's doctrines, and other rulers had followed his example.

Luther, in 1525, to the considerable surprise of his supporters, resolved to marry. He had long preached against the celibacy of the clergy, but his resolution at this time was due rather to inclination than to a desire that his practice should correspond with his precepts. On 13 June, 1525, he was married to Catharine von Bora, who had been a nun. Luther's health had been undermined by overwork and disregard of his personal comfort, and no doubt the devotion of his wife prolonged his life for a number of years. He was now forty-one years of age, and the work immediately before him was the task of reorganizing ecclesiastical affairs within those territories which had already been won over to the Reformation. It was necessary to supervise the parochial clergy, to provide a supply of clergy for the future, and to establish the new Church upon a definite constitution; Luther urged the elector of Saxony to take the matter in hand. In February, 1527, the elector found himself able to act, and visitations were begun on an extensive scale. Extraordinary ignorance and even immorality were discovered. Priests were constantly found who supplemented their scanty incomes by callings of the most secular description. In one village an old priest was hardly able to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, but enjoyed a high reputation as an exorcist. In another place the peasants refused to learn the Lord's Prayer because they considered it too long. Even in the village schools it was difficult to comply with the Church's demand that the children should know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments before they were admitted to communion. Luther proceeded to compile a catechism instructing the clergy to explain the main points in the articles of faith. He reduced this work to a shorter form, known as the *Little Catechism*, intended to be used for children.

He was now involved in a discussion aroused by the growth of the divergent opinions within the Lutheran party. Of these men the most important representative was the Swiss reformer, Zwingli of Zurich. The doctrinal controversy, in this case, concerned the question of the real presence in the sacrament. The Anabaptist controversy also became important, and the political situation was complicated by the fact that the Emperor Charles had stormed Rome and plundered it in the course of his war with France. The Diet of Spires, which was summoned in 1529, resolved by a majority that measures should be taken to check the spread of the Reformation, especially urging that the subjects of one state were not to be protected by another state against their own ruler. Protests by the minority were disregarded, though their action upon this occasion gave their descendants the name which they bear, the Protestants. Attempts were made to form a general league of Protestant towns and

states, including the Swiss centres. Luther, however, declined any alliance with Zwingli. The landgrave of Hesse attempted to overcome his difficulties by arranging a conference at Marburg between Luther and Zwingli, who, though agreeing as to all the main doctrines, were unable to harmonize their views concerning the sacrament. Meanwhile Christendom as a whole was threatened by a Turkish invasion, which had already reached Vienna, and Luther published a stirring sermon urging the German Christians to take the field against the infidel.

The immediate result of the protest delivered by the Lutherans at the Diet of Spires was the conclusion of a secret league between the elector of Saxony and Hesse and the towns of Strasburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg for the defence of their religious convictions even against the empire itself. In June, 1530, the emperor convoked a new Diet at Augsburg, and, though the empire as a whole was menaced by the likelihood of a Turkish invasion, religious or theological disputations were the chief points of interest during this Diet. The Protestants, at the request of the emperor, had drawn up a statement of their doctrinal views, which formed the famous *Confession of Augsburg*; this was the work of Melanchthon, and attenuated, as far as possible, the difference between Roman Catholicism and the Lutheran doctrines, chiefly emphasizing the fact that Luther's doctrines coincided with the teaching of St. Augustine, and were therefore not heretical. Luther was unable to appear in person at the Diet, as a man both outlawed and excommunicated, and Melanchthon took his place. But he was of a disposition too yielding to make a capable leader in such a struggle. He hoped to achieve the obviously impossible and to secure ecclesiastical peace. He was prepared to be contented with the concession of the marriage of priests, the chalice for the laity, and the reform of the Mass. However, any danger to Protestantism which a policy of excessive concession might have caused was speedily averted by the demands of its opponents. A Catholic rejoinder to the *Confession* was issued, known as the *Refutation*, and expressing uncompromising opposition to any concession. The Protestant princes then realized that the breach was complete, and Germany was now divided into two parts. From this moment may be dated the beginning of the struggle which retarded her progress for centuries. The princes also realized that their religious views were incompatible with their allegiance to the emperor, who had shown himself a strong partisan of the Papacy. A closer union of Protestants was therefore necessary, and at the end of February, 1531, a league was formed at Schmalkalden, in Thuringen. The rulers of Saxony, Hesse, Luneberg, Anhalt, Magdeburg, and Bremen united "for the maintenance of Christian truth and peace and for the repression of unlawful powers". Other princes and towns were hesitating, as there seemed no immediate prospect of an alliance with South Germany; communication had been opened with Denmark and Sweden, and even from England support was expected. In view of these facts and the increasing danger from the Turks the emperor resolved to conclude

a preliminary peace with the Protestants, and the so-called "Peace of Nuremberg" was concluded on 23 July, 1532. The peace provided that the states should maintain peace among themselves on all questions of belief until the Pope saw fit to call a Church council; in certain cases a Diet might take the place of the council, while all trials upon religious questions which might be pending in the supreme court should be discontinued for the moment. Thus the emperor formally recognized the league as a political power and a religious body. Protestantism was henceforward represented not so much by professors of theology as by the German territorial princes. Luther's work was now practically over, but he continued to preach and teach, to produce polemical writings against Erasmus and Zwingli and the Roman Catholics, to discuss theological questions with the Swiss centres which disagreed with him, and to work at his translation of the Bible. The severe exertions of his early years and the tremendous labours of writing and speaking had told heavily upon his constitution, and his later letters are often full of lamentations upon his increasing weakness and helplessness.

There were now five children in the house at Wittenberg, together with two orphan nieces, and Luther obviously enjoyed his home life and carefully supervised the education of his children. He was too busy to teach them himself, nor was there a good school in Wittenberg, and therefore a resident tutor was employed; and, like other professors, he was accustomed to take several students to his table for payment. The family lived in part of what had been the convent at Wittenberg, and, in later years at any rate, were in circumstances sufficiently comfortable. Luther was very careless of his personal comfort, and was as likely to forget his meals altogether as not, in the press of work. His chief pleasures were the conversation of friends, and music; he himself played the lute and was able to compose. He died in the year 1546—the most famous of all reformers, owing his greatness to his personal character. Though a most laborious student he was not supreme in scholarship; Calvin, Erasmus, and others were easily superior to him here. Nor was he a statesman or diplomatist by nature. He made many mistakes: his exhortation to the princes during the Peasants' Revolt to "slay and spare not" destroyed his reputation among the lower classes, though it possibly saved the cause of the Reformation. The attitude which he adopted concerning the marriage of the Landgrave Philip considerably damaged his reputation. He was, in fact, a man of violent temper and many faults. His greatness lay in his terrible and burning earnestness and his indomitable tenacity. He was ready to sacrifice everything for the truth as he conceived it; his convictions were attained at the cost only of infinite inward struggles and heartburnings. The best description of his character is his own; he speaks of himself as "rough, boisterous, stormy and altogether warlike, born to fight innumerable devils and monsters, remove stocks and stones and cut down thistles and thorns and clear the wild woods".

EUROPE
16th Century
English Miles
100 0 100 200 300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
LONDON
NETHERLANDS
PARIS
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
GERMAN EMPIRE
POLAND
LITHUANIA
MOSCOVY
HUNGARY
TURKISH EMPIRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ASTRALIA
VARAGON
Bay of Biscay
Galicia
Leon
Andalusia
Valencia
Corsica (to Genoa)
Sardinia
NAPLES
SICILY
Malta
Crete or Candia
Cyprus
Moldavia
Walachia
Bosnia
Albania
Rumelia
Moscow
Khanate of the Crimea
Khanate Astrakhan
Finland
Estonia
Teuton
Dublin
Belfast
Cork
Brittany
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Lyon
Marseille
Toulon
Barcelona
Minorca
Majorca
Ivisa
Algiers
Tunis
Fez & Marocco
Barbary States
Boundary of the Empire
Brandenburg (Prussia)
Turkey and Tributary States
Habsburg Dominions
German line
Spanish line
Venice
Longitude East 15 of Greenwich
John Bartholomew & Co. Edinr

CHAPTER III

Charles V (A.D. 1500–1558)

Charles V was born at Ghent on 24 February, 1500. His father was the Archduke Philip of Austria, known as the Fair, the son of Maximilian, the emperor of Germany who had married Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold. His mother, Joanna, was the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella of Castile. Charles was thus destined to inherit dominions of vast extent and responsibilities correspondingly great. There seemed to be every prospect of a Spanish-Hapsburg empire, but it was a prospect only realized with considerable difficulty. The union between Aragon and Castile had been hardly accomplished when, upon the death of Isabella, separation seemed imminent; but Philip the Fair survived his mother only for a short time, while Joanna lost her reason and became incapable of government. Ferdinand was therefore able to act as regent of Castile until he died in 1516. The government then came into the hands of Cardinal Ximenes, to whom the peace and prosperity of Spain at that period is largely due. Meanwhile Charles had been living in the Low Countries, his paternal dominions, and had been brought up by Margaret of Austria, his aunt, and Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV of England, and the widow of Charles the Bold. Upon the death of his father the Emperor Maximilian became Regent of the Low Countries, and he chose William of Croy, the Lord of Chièvres, to supervise the education of his grandson. Charles showed no inclination for study, but was ever ready to engage in the work of military training and to learn the use of the sword. At the same time Chièvres persuaded him to pay some attention to the art of government, and to learn the best methods of conducting public affairs. After the death of Ferdinand, Charles was detained in Flanders by the continuance of that war which Maximilian and Ferdinand had begun against France. The Flemings were anxious not to ruin their trade with France, and Chièvres threw his influence upon the side of peace. Francis I of France was also ready to conclude a treaty which would secure him in the possession of his late conquests in Italy. The result was the compact of Noyon, which provided a few years of tranquillity for Europe and secured for Charles a safe passage to Spain.

It was therefore nearly a year before he set foot in that country. His Flemish advisers were anxious to secure a further influx of Spanish treasure into their towns, and were well aware that if they attempted to continue in Spain the ascendancy which they had gained over Charles in Flanders, they might endanger his possession of his

Spanish dominions. Hence he determined to start in 1517, and shortly after his arrival occurred the death of Cardinal Ximenes, whose efforts to prepare the way for his own accession Charles was never able to appreciate. The early days of his rule were far from peaceful. His attachment to his Flemish favourites aroused the jealousy and exasperation of the Spaniards; Charles himself spoke Spanish but imperfectly and treated with some contempt the remonstrances which he received from his own subjects. In 1519, while he was staying at Barcelona, he heard of an event which entirely diverted his attention from the condition of Spain. This was the death of the Emperor Maximilian, who, as Charles knew, had done his best to secure his own position for his grandson. Maximilian himself, however, had never been crowned by the Pope and was therefore theoretically never more than emperor-elect, and the German princes declined to appoint his successor under such conditions. Moreover, the Pope, who was inclined to support France in the candidature for the imperial crown, refused to confer it formally upon Maximilian. After the emperor's death there were therefore two candidates for the position, Charles and Francis I. Henry VIII of England preferred a claim, but soon perceived that he was too late in the field. The various intrigues and cajoleries, and the bribery which were expended by either party in the attempt to secure the votes of the several electors, are alike complicated and uninteresting. The chief objection to either candidate in the eyes of the electors was the considerable power possessed by both. The object of the electors was to give the empire a head, but to avoid any action which might possibly interfere with their own independence. They actually offered the crown to the elector of Saxony, who alone of their body showed the smallest sense of statesmanship and honour and alone comes with credit out of the whole business. While declining the dignity, he pointed out that though the electors desired an emperor who could not infringe upon their liberties, at the same time they required one who was capable of doing something for their protection. He pointed out that Charles was of German extraction, that the territories which descended to him from his grandfather would be first exposed to a Turkish invasion, and that he therefore was the better of the two candidates. These arguments, backed with money furnished in part by the great banking house of Fugger, decided the day in favour of Charles, and on 28 June, 1519, he was unanimously elected at Frankfort.

It is a commonplace of historians to point out that while Charles thus increased his already burdensome responsibilities he did not increase his power and had somewhat diminished his wealth. But ambition, love of prestige and dignity, will suffice to explain his action. Rarely has any prince been confronted with more momentous problems. The movement of the Renaissance and the Revival of Learning had passed northward from Italy, and had prepared the way for a religious and political struggle the first tremors of which upheaval were even then perceptible. Charles thus united under his

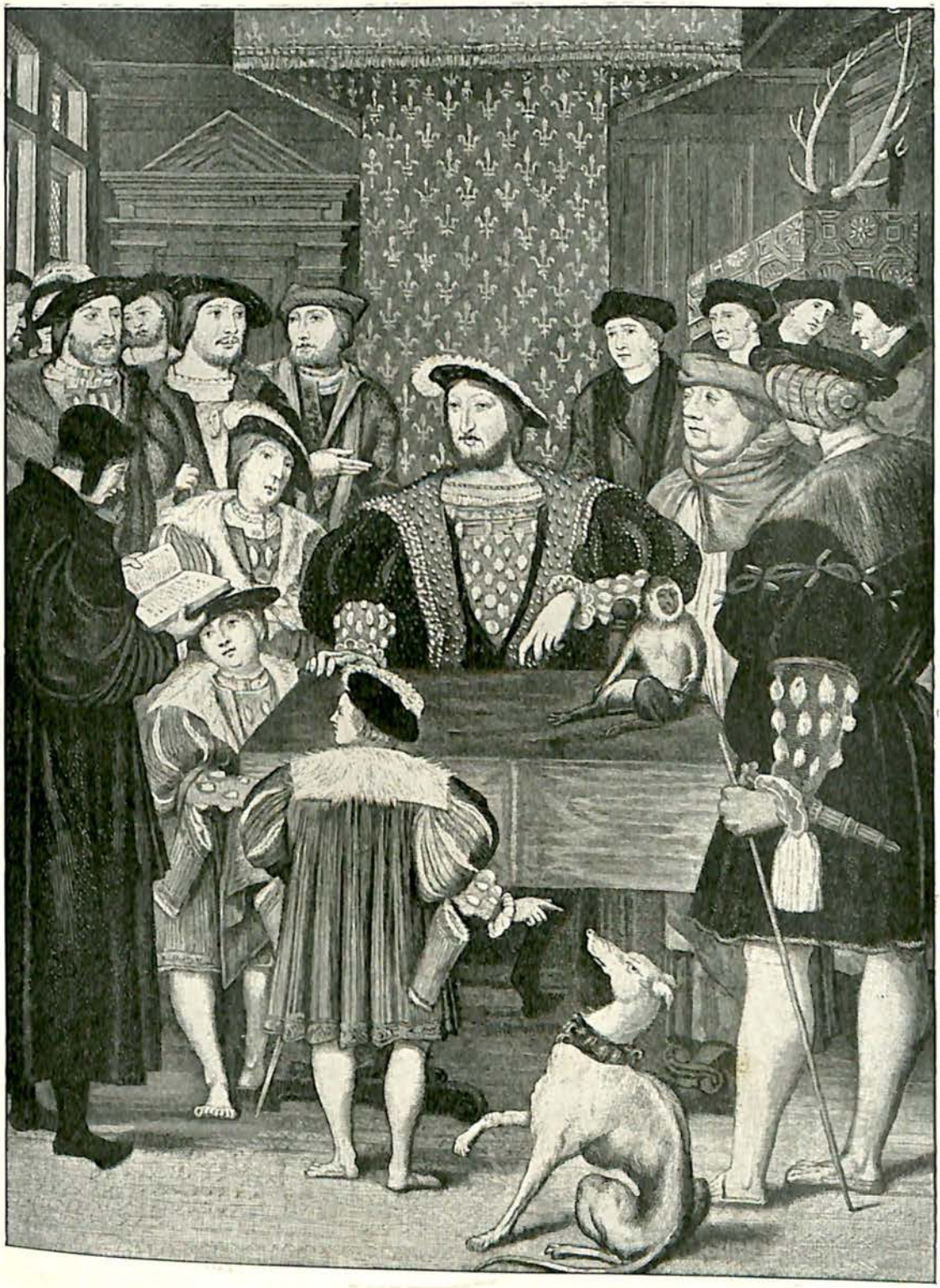
rule peoples whose aspirations and ideals were absolutely opposed. Spain was a country in which the conflict with the Moors had raised religious enthusiasm to the point of fanaticism and which was bound to the Papacy by the closest ties, while Germany was struggling in the early throes of the Reformation. Charles was bound to throw in his lot with one or other of the two peoples and naturally decided in favour of Spain. If there were troubles at home, the Spanish nationality promised to be a more useful instrument than a number of petty states struggling for political and intellectual independence. It remained to be seen whether Charles would be able to keep in hand the vast and contradictory interests which he had assumed, whether he would be able to persuade the Spaniards to bear the burden of absolute monarchy for the advancement of a far-reaching foreign policy, and whether he could unite the German states with sufficient coherence to oppose the advancing danger from Turkey.

There was also the question of France. Francis was extremely disappointed by his lack of success, and could find a large number of excuses for picking a quarrel with Charles if he cared to do so. He could lay claim to the duchy of Naples, of which his predecessor had been practically deprived by Ferdinand. He held the duchy of Milan, though this was a fief of the empire and he had never been duly invested with it by the emperor. Then there was the almost ancestral feud between the houses of Burgundy and Valois. Charles regarded Burgundy as the domain of his ancestors, which had been ingeniously filched from them, and it thus appeared that a collision sooner or later was inevitable. The imminent struggle was averted for a time by the diplomacy of the Pope, who realized that Italy would be the seat of any war that might break out. Then both Francis and Charles were anxious to gain the support of Henry VIII of England, who was quite prepared to interfere in foreign politics. The Field of the Cloth of Gold and the interview with the emperor at Gravelines formed the visible outcome of the amount of diplomacy expended upon this object, and it appeared that Henry for the moment held the balance of European power in his hands. Wolsey secured an agreement that neither Charles nor Francis should conclude an alliance with any other power without mutual consent, and that if either of them declared war, Henry should act against the aggressor. Charles therefore felt tolerably certain that Francis was not likely to gain the support of England for the moment, and proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle for his coronation, which took place on 23 October, 1520.

The disparity between the power of Francis and Charles was by no means so great as might have been supposed. If the dominions of Charles were more extensive, they were governed by different constitutions and in none of them was his authority unquestioned. A formidable revolt had broken out in Spain, among the Castilian towns, at the moment of the emperor's departure for Germany. The movement was aroused by irregular attempts to levy taxes, and the demands of the citizens showed in some respects an unusual amount of enlightenment.

They asked that nobles and citizens should be taxed alike, and that the natives of America should not be treated as slaves. The disunion of the towns and the opposition of the nobility speedily brought the movement to an end; the towns lost their rights and the leaders their lives, and if the authority of Charles was thereafter unquestioned, the movement was in itself a sign of inherent weakness and was a sufficient warning that the emperor could not venture to relieve his constant financial embarrassment by unconstitutional means. Germany was disturbed by the embarrassing questions which the Reformation had raised and which the princes, who were very anxious to limit the imperial authority, seemed likely to use for their own advantage. On the other hand, Francis enjoyed almost despotic authority in his own country, he was not obliged to rely upon mercenary troops to the same extent as Charles, and a properly organized system of finances spared him the pecuniary embarrassments of his rival. Charles gained the support of the Pope and of Henry VIII by the cleverness with which he played upon the vanity of Wolsey. Francis was joined by the Swiss and Venetians, and war began almost simultaneously in Navarre, the Netherlands, and Lombardy. The Battle of Bicocca, in 1522, resulted in a defeat for the French, who were finally expelled from Italy and lost Genoa, their most faithful ally. Then came the death of Pope Leo, who was succeeded in the Papal chair by Adrian, a supporter of Charles, and the Venetians went over to the imperial cause.

Francis might have recovered Milan, as the emperor had been forced to disband many of his troops for want of funds, but a quarrel with the duke of Bourbon ruined his opportunity, as the discovery of his plots delayed the king's march upon Italy. This duke was the last surviving representative of the great and powerful princes of the fifteenth century. His title to the great duchy of Bourbon was, however, open to question. The queen-mother and the king respectively claimed certain important fiefs of which the duchy was composed. The duke felt that an appeal to the Paris Parliament would be useless in view of the powerful influences against which he had to contend; he therefore proposed to co-operate with Charles V against Francis. The king hesitated to arrest the duke, who was able to reach his allies; but instead of the large force he had proposed to raise, the duke could bring nothing with him but his name and his influence. Francis was thus unable to invade the Milanese in person, but sent an army thither under Admiral Bonnivet, who began the siege of Milan, but the slowness of his movements gave his enemies time to gather against him. The result was a disastrous defeat, in which the admiral himself was wounded, and the responsibility of fighting a rearguard action devolved upon the famous Bayard. In the course of the operations he was mortally wounded, and the French army lost in him the man who had raised the ideal of knighthood to the highest point. Charles was sufficiently encouraged by this success to project an invasion of France by way of Provence, while Henry VIII promised to attack the north. Meanwhile Pope Adrian had died, and had been succeeded by



FRANCIS I IN THE MIDST OF HIS FAMILY

From a miniature in a Prayer Book which belonged to Francis

The original is in the Royal Print Collection, Berlin

Clement VII, much to the disappointment of Wolsey, who revenged himself upon the emperor for his broken promises by persuading Henry to abandon the enterprise. Charles, therefore, was unable to press his invasion, and, after ravaging the south, he retreated across the mountains. Francis immediately followed, and insisted on ordering a vigorous pursuit of the demoralized imperialists. He laid siege to the town of Pavia, and also detached part of his army to invade Naples, for the protection of which he hoped that a number of imperial troops would be sent southwards. But meanwhile reinforcements were arriving from Germany and moving upon Pavia. The French lines of communication were endangered, and in February, 1525, the imperial troops resolved to attack Francis in his entrenchments. Charles's victory was ultimately due to the tactics which intermingled a considerable number of the excellent Spanish arquebus men with the heavy Spanish cavalry, who were able to overthrow the French horse, while the garrison at Pavia made a successful sortie during the heat of the action. The result was the rout of Francis, who defended himself with heroic courage, but was wounded and taken prisoner. "Nothing is left me in all the world save honour and life", was the message of Francis to his mother announcing the disaster. Nothing indeed was left for him but to make peace, but the demands of Charles were most distasteful to him. He was particularly anxious that Francis should restore the duchy of Burgundy; Provence and the Dauphiné were to become an independent kingdom for the duke of Bourbon, and French claims upon Italy were to be abandoned for ever. Francis was roused to such fury by these proposals that he actually attempted to commit suicide, but was stopped in time and informed that a personal interview with the emperor might produce some modification of his demands. He was sent as a prisoner to Madrid, and Charles proved quite inflexible, though he was himself anxious for peace. England, the Italian states, and the Protestant German princes were alike jealous of the substantial advantage he had gained; his finances were disorganized and he was unable to pay his mercenary troops, while Henry VIII entered upon a defensive alliance with the queen regent of France. Francis, moreover, began to languish in prison, and Charles feared that the death of the captive might frustrate all his plans. On the question of Burgundy, however, both parties were as far from agreement as ever, and no doubt the concession of this province would have reduced Francis to a state of complete subservience. He contemplated resigning his crown to his son and ending his days in prison. Charles thereupon expressed his willingness not to insist upon the surrender of Burgundy until Francis had been set at liberty. The French king then called together such of his councillors as were in Madrid, and informed them, after a solemn oath of secrecy, that, while he would consent to the treaty, his consent would be considered as null and void, seeing that it had been extorted from him by the artifices and ignoble severities which Charles had condescended to employ. This discreditable excuse by which Francis

provided himself with a pretext for breaking the treaty could hardly have satisfied even the most elastic conscience.

Francis was liberated at the French frontier on 17 March, 1526, and left behind him his two sons as hostages and guarantees for the execution of the treaty. He speedily declared his intention of breaking it, and the estates of Burgundy afforded him a plausible excuse. They represented that their allegiance could not be transferred without their consent, and that they would declare their independence rather than submit to imperial domination. Francis explained this state of affairs to the ambassadors, who were well aware that the whole scene had been pre-arranged. He offered to compromise the matter by a payment of 2,000,000 crowns. Charles stigmatized Francis as void of faith and honour, while Francis asserted that promises obtained by force were not binding, and obtained an absolution from the Pope without difficulty.

War then began again in the north of Italy. The duke of Bourbon had been appointed duke of Milan as compensation for his French possessions which Francis refused to restore. The Venetians and the English king joined Francis, but their movements were so slow and feeble that the imperialists had no difficulty in maintaining their ground. Meanwhile the Pope showed great vacillation, which so irritated the duke of Bourbon that he marched upon Rome, in the hope of raising sufficient money to pay his clamorous troops. He himself was killed in the assault, and the Eternal City was captured and sacked amid fearful horrors. The Lutheran soldiers of the Most Catholic King delighted to burn and ravage that which had been the adoration of the world. The Pope was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo and compelled to surrender. For nine months the city and the neighbourhood remained at the mercy of the lawless troops, while Charles professed sincere sorrow for the outrages, and ordered prayers for the deliverance of the Pontiff to be offered in all the churches, but made no move to secure his liberation. The indignation aroused in consequence enabled Francis to invade Italy and penetrate as far as Naples. Then, however, the Pope determined to conciliate the emperor, while Francis committed the mistake of offending the Genoese hero, Andrea Doria, who revolted to the emperor, and turned the scale by giving the imperialists command of the sea. Doria restored the republic of Genoa, and the French attempts to recover it were frustrated. The forces of Francis were again defeated in the Milanese, and it seemed that the time had come for peace. Negotiations were opened at Cambrai by the emperor's aunt, Margaret of the Netherlands, and the king's mother, Louise of Savoy. Francis renounced his Italian claims, left his northern allies in the lurch, and undertook to pay 2,000,000 crowns as ransom for his sons and in lieu of Burgundy. The treaty was signed in 1528, but obviously a sufficient number of disputed points were left unsettled to provide material for a second war. On the whole Francis came out of the struggle with much greater success than might have been expected; his disasters

were chiefly due to his persistently bad choice of commanders. Milan, which was the chief object of contention, was a luxury to him but a necessity for Charles; nor was it possible for two first-class powers to live within the peninsula upon peaceable terms.

Charles now resolved to devote his attention to the Reformation movement in Germany. But the Protestant princes began the formation of the League of Schmalkalden in 1530, and applied to France and England for support. This Henry VIII was ready to give; he was anxious to secure his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, the emperor's aunt, and thought that the Pope's reluctance was probably inspired by Charles. Charles did not see his way to begin a general war in Germany. He wished to secure the appointment of his brother Ferdinand as his successor, while the progress of the Turks would soon demand the united strength of the empire. Meanwhile Francis began a redistribution of political forces by securing the marriage of his son, the duke of Orleans, with the niece of the Pope, Catharine de Medici. If he thus gained the friendship of the Pope he lost that of Henry VIII, who had thrown off his allegiance to the Papal authority and declared himself Supreme Head of the English Church. The Protestant princes of Germany were also suspicious of Francis, and the death of Clement VII, who was succeeded by Paul III, a supporter of the emperor, left Francis without the aid which he had striven so earnestly to secure.

Meanwhile Charles had been occupied by an expedition against the states of the Barbary pirates, a measure which he had long contemplated. The Spanish coasts and possessions in North Africa were particularly exposed to piratical raids, and the corsairs had recently extended their expeditions to the Italian coast. His attack upon Tunis was completely successful, and was the more opportune as Francis concluded a treaty with the Turkish Suleiman in 1536. In the previous year the emperor heard that Francis had chosen to reopen the war while he was engaged in operations against the pirates. Savoy was overrun by the French troops, and Charles could do no more than invade Provence in the following year in the hope of securing the evacuation of the province. The French commander, however, remained on the defensive, Charles was unable to attack any important centre, and was obliged to retreat in the early autumn. The success of the Turks in Hungary, the constant disputes in Germany between the princes of the Protestant and Catholic Leagues, the intrigues of the Pope to secure complete command of the next general council, and the turbulent behaviour of his Flemish subjects were matters sufficient to fill Charles with anxiety. A meeting took place between the king and the emperor in 1538, and, though nothing definite was arranged, a truce was eventually concluded for ten years. Francis remained in possession of Savoy, while the Pope and the emperor proceeded to concert measures against the Turks.

The Turks, under Suleiman II, known as the Magnificent, had developed a westward movement which considerably influenced the

policy of both Francis and Charles from time to time. In 1521 they had conquered Belgrade; in 1522 they drove out the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes. The knights received the island of Malta from Charles in 1530. In 1526 there took place the Battle of Mohacz, in which the Turks defeated and slew the king of Hungary and devastated the country. The Archduke Ferdinand, who represented the house of Hapsburg, secured his coronation in 1527 in spite of the opposition offered by the Voivod of Transylvania, John Zapolya, and thus founded the Austrian monarchy by adding Hungary to the Hapsburg possessions, as he had added Bohemia at the beginning of the year. Zapolya made common cause with the Turks, and began the siege of Vienna in 1529 with 120,000 men, but a heroic defence obliged him to retire. After the religious peace of Nuremberg, in 1532, the emperor was able to put an army in the field against the Turks; Charles, however, was unable to control the operations, as his presence was demanded in Italy, from which country he led his expedition against Tunis and the Moors in 1541. Suleiman was able to make Hungary almost a Turkish province, while the second great expedition of Charles to the African coast was utterly shattered by a terrible storm. Meanwhile Francis again entered into negotiations with the Turks, in spite of the fact that his previous alliance had brought down upon him the general indignation of Europe; nor was public opinion changed by the assertion that the Most Christian King was merely using the enemies of the Christian faith for political and not for religious purposes. At the same time the sultan sent the celebrated admiral and pirate, Barbarossa, to support the French in an invasion of Italy. Barbarossa devastated the southern coasts of Italy, joined the French fleet at Toulon, and won a victory at Nice in 1543. These successes, however, in no way sufficed to counterbalance the infamy which Francis had brought upon his name.

Meanwhile the emperor was obliged to turn his attention to the situation in Germany. After the truce of Nice in 1538 Charles had desired to bring back the German Protestants to the universal Church. The Schmalkaldic League had been so widely extended as to infringe the conditions of the religious peace of Nuremberg, and a counter league was formed by the Catholics in the same year. Charles was anxious to avert the possibility of war, and attempted to arrange a compact between the opposing parties, but with no great success. Eventually the Protestant League was rent asunder upon the question of a bigamous marriage contracted by Philip of Hesse and concluded with the assent of the reformers of Wittenberg. In 1542 the league itself was shattered; it was unable to use the opportunity which presented itself when Francis, supported by Sweden and Denmark, declared war upon the emperor while the Turks overran Hungary. Charles now found an ally in the king of England. The death of his aunt had removed one great source of enmity between Henry VIII and himself, while the alliance between Francis and Scotland, cemented by the marriage of James V to Mary of Guise, had roused much alarm

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (1548)

From the painting by Titian in the Munich Gallery

in England. Henry was anxious that Scotland should enjoy the benefits of the Reformation, but James was not to be persuaded, and Henry, with his usual impetuosity, declared war upon him. James V of Scotland then died, leaving as his successor his infant daughter Mary, the famous and unfortunate Queen of Scots. Henry now wished to unite the two kingdoms by a marriage between his son Edward and Mary, but he knew that the French party in Scotland would bitterly oppose the idea, and he was therefore ready to enter an alliance against Francis. Charles was thus able to appear on the Lower Rhine with a large army, and the whole district was soon in his hands. But in 1544, at the Diet of Spires, he again declared his desire to settle the religious troubles of the empire in an amicable way. The princes were therefore ready to support him against France, which he was able to invade by way of Lorraine while the English operated from Calais. The emperor was almost within sight of the walls of Paris when he suddenly concluded with Francis the Peace of Crépy. Among the many reasons adduced to explain this unexpected move the real fact stands out that there was no true community of interest between Charles and Henry VIII; both were anxious to make peace with Francis for their own purposes: Henry, that he might be free to deal with Scotland, and Charles, that he might be left undisturbed to deal with the Protestants in Germany, with the Turks, and with Italy. The unscrupulous diplomacy of Charles won the race, and left Henry entangled in war with France. The Turkish peril was temporarily averted by a truce with Suleiman. Charles had made concessions in the interests of religious peace from time to time, but these were not inspired by any motives of toleration; they were extorted from Charles by the necessity of securing help against the Turks and the French. Charles was a whole-hearted Catholic, as is shown by the methods which he pursued in Spain and in the Netherlands; if he avoided persecution in Germany he did so simply because he had no other choice. He could conceive no other creed than that in which he had been brought up, and the idea that two faiths could co-exist independently of one another was to him incomprehensible. His policy hitherto, however, had done much to advance the cause of Lutheranism. Reformers and anti-imperial princes had been driven into one another's arms; it seemed likely that the Netherlands would follow their lead, and it was possible that Protestant electors might secure a majority at the next imperial election.

Charles was therefore well convinced that war was the only solution. At the Council of Trent, held at the end of 1545, the Pope made a vigorous attack upon Protestantism and promised energetic support if war were declared against the Schmalkaldic League. These promises led to a formal treaty between the Pope and the emperor in 1546. Some Protestant lords joined Charles, such as William of Bavaria, while the elector of Saxony, Duke Maurice, was wavering. At the Diet of Ratisbon it became plain to the states that Charles proposed to punish the refractory princes. But, contrary to the general

expectation, the league held closely together and was supported by many of the towns. They had more than 50,000 men in the field, while Charles had but a small bodyguard with him at Ratisbon and could have offered but little resistance to immediate action. The league forces, however, wasted their time in unnecessary movements, while the emperor was able to gather reinforcements and extend his control. By the end of the autumn Maurice of Saxony declared his hostility to his cousin the elector after he had himself been invested with the title of elector in place of the proscribed prince; he occupied the electorate in conjunction with King Ferdinand and forced the league armies to withdraw to central Germany. The towns were then unable to hold out, and the emperor became master of the south.

The death of Henry VIII and of Francis I in the early months of 1547 freed Charles from the possibility of foreign complications. John Frederick had reappeared in Saxony and was received with great enthusiasm. He speedily recovered the whole of his own territories and seemed likely to gain the support of the Lutherans in Bohemia and Silesia. A Protestant league was being formed in northern Germany, while Charles and the Pope were also at enmity. The Pope had been offended by such small concessions as Charles had thought advisable in order to attract wavering Lutherans to his cause. Obviously, however, his first task was to oppose John Frederick of Saxony, who was utterly defeated and taken prisoner at Mühlberg, on 24 April, 1547. John Frederick and Philip of Hesse were thrown into prison, and were carried about by the emperor as a speaking example to other waverers.

This rapid success of the emperor considerably alarmed the Pope, who declined to let the Church council leave Bologna, while Charles required its return to Trent. The Pope began to fear that Charles might induce the council to limit his authority. Both Pope and emperor, thinking that the Protestants had been crushed, began to consider their own private advantage. Charles published a code of doctrines known as the Interim, a compromise which made certain concessions to the Lutherans, allowed clerical marriage, the use of the cup by the laity, and insisted upon a modified form of the doctrine of justification by faith. The Pope replied that the emperor could not decide matters of doctrine and the College of Princes declared that the Interim could not apply to Catholic territories. Charles regarded the Interim as a temporary arrangement which should stand only until a free general council was convoked, and resolved to enforce it upon the empire. Catholics and Protestants alike objected to this summary method of settling doctrinal questions, but the free city of Magdeburg alone offered any real resistance. Maurice of Saxony, with an army, was sent to reduce the town to obedience. Meanwhile the Spanish troops scattered through the empire created the impression that Germany was a conquered country, an impression which their arrogance did nothing to remove. German mercenaries were forbidden to serve in foreign armies, while the treatment of Philip of Hesse

and John Frederick aroused deep indignation. There were Turkish troubles in Hungary, while France had made peace with England and was inclined to break with the emperor upon a disputed question in Italy. Maurice of Saxony began to think that the emperor's cause was waning, and that he must find some independent means of support. Upon the surrender of Magdeburg in 1551 he contrived to win over the inhabitants to his cause and concluded an agreement with Henry II of France. Having thus completed his plans he submitted to the emperor a manifesto containing a list of grievances for which he required redress, and supported his arguments with such energy that he nearly captured the emperor, who was obliged to flee across the Brenner Pass amid rain and snow with a few attendants. For a short time Charles was a solitary fugitive within his own kingdom. The Council of Trent was broken up because the assembly of prelates declined to work with soldiers under arms. Charles was compelled to sign a treaty at Passau which restored the captive princes to liberty, while he agreed to refer the religious question to a Diet, until which time the Protestants should be allowed to exercise their religion according to their consciences. The Interim of Augsburg thus came to an end, and for a short period the equality of the two religions was admitted, while the political supremacy of the emperor was broken both in Germany and in Europe. In 1555 a great Diet was opened at Augsburg to secure some compromise upon the religious difficulties. The struggle went on for months, and eventually it was agreed that the Lutheran princes should be relieved from all episcopal jurisdiction in their lands, while they might retain all ecclesiastical property which had been secularized before the Treaty of Passau. Henceforward each territorial secular prince could choose between the Catholic and Lutheran faiths, and the decision was to be binding upon his subjects. This was the famous principle *cujus regio ejus religio.* If a subject objected to his sovereign's religion his only remedy was to migrate elsewhere. Toleration was thus confined to princes or governments, with one important exception which the Catholics succeeded in carrying—that any ecclesiastical prince, any bishop or abbot, who became a Protestant should forfeit his living and lands and his dignities, a clause known by the name of the Ecclesiastical Reservation. It was a feeble conclusion to forty years of strife, and the Ecclesiastical Reservation itself contained the seeds which eventually grew to the Thirty Years' War. But, bad as it was, it was the best that Charles could do for himself. He now had a free hand to maintain Catholicism in full rigour. In the year 1550 he set up the Inquisition in the Netherlands and supported it with all his authority. The Pope became the avowed enemy of the House of Austria and entered upon an alliance with France, and a storm seemed to be approaching, when Charles, to the general surprise, abdicated his dominions. To his son Philip he left the crown of the Netherlands and Spain and retired to the monastery of Yuste, a secluded region in western Spain. The imperial crown was eventually assumed by Charles's brother, the

Archduke Ferdinand, who had already united Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria. It was a scheme which Charles had considered carefully for some years previously, though its execution filled Europe with astonishment. He was tormented with the gout, which constantly rendered him incapable of attending to business. He felt that the control of affairs was slipping from his hands and was falling into the power of his ministers, while he saw that his chief rival, Henry of France, was a vigorous man in the prime of life. These are facts sufficient to explain his determination. He died in 1558, after seeing Philip's victories over the French at St. Quentin and at Gravelines, which led to the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. He saw his son prepared to carry on his policy of unity in Church and State, and prepared to suppress heresy not merely as a sin but as an act of political rebellion. He saw a son in power who was an incessant worker, was prepared to centralize the government to the uttermost, and was fully convinced that the Spaniards were the chosen people elected to champion the true Church, and that their king was the instrument of God for the working out of these designs.

The reign of Charles V is a disappointing period in history. The constant succession of struggles between himself and Francis led to no very practical result except that they averted a possibility which seemed at one time imminent, the reduction of France to a mere dependency of Spain; they also preserved the religious aspirations of Germany from total destruction. Francis at least gave Protestantism time to take permanent root in northern Germany; the shameful alliance between Christian and Turk and the disunion between the Christians themselves had inflicted a severe loss upon Christendom. The Mediterranean was almost a Turkish sea, while Hungary was ravaged with fire and sword. Italy was in very little better plight; the peninsula had been the chief seat of the struggles between Francis and the emperor and had suffered severely in consequence. The literary and artistic revival had been checked, and the transference of the movement to France is the only compensation that can be discerned for this particular loss. Lastly, the religious struggle in Germany was postponed by a hopeless compromise when a wise ruler might have ended it. Men's minds had been turned to war, and the principle of territorialism had obtained definite recognition. The success of the Reformation meant the overthrow of the German monarchy, because it implied the success of several princes who claimed to control or who represented the religious feelings of their subjects. Germany ceased to be a kingdom and became a collection of petty states divided by mutual animosity. Equally disastrous were the effects upon the once vigorous city life of the German towns. The freedom of citizenship disappeared; territorial sovereigns interfered with municipal administration and demanded the control of municipal finance. Municipal art and civilization naturally decayed, and the era between the Peace of Augsburg and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War was completely barren so far as Germany was concerned.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V AT THE CONVENT OF YUSTE. From the painting by Alfred Elmore, R.A., in the collection of the Royal Holloway College, Egham.

This picture, exhibited first at the Royal Academy in 1856, represents a scene described in Stirling's *Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.* The famous Emperor, wearied of kingship and in the grip of disease, gave up his kingdoms to his son, Philip II, in 1555–6, and in 1557 settled in a house beside the Monastery of St. Jerome at Yuste, about 120 miles west by south of Madrid. Although keeping in touch with affairs, he lived here in comparative retirement till his death in 1558. Always a lover of art, he was a liberal patron of Titian, several of whose masterpieces he took with him into his retirement at Yuste. One of these, a portrait of his dead wife, Isabella of Portugal, was especially dear to him during this time of melancholy retrospect. The plate shows Charles seated, with Philip II beside him, looking at some of his favourite pictures, which have been brought to him by monks and servants.

The artist, Alfred Elmore, was a native of Ireland. He was born in 1815, and died in 1881. His best works are historical paintings.

CHARLES V AT THE CONVENT OF YUSTE

ALFRED ELMORE, R.A.

CHAPTER IV

Ignatius Loyola (A.D. 1491–1556)

Even before the death of Luther the Reformation had gained so strong a hold in Western Christendom that the disruption of the old ecclesiastical empire seemed to be imminent. Several causes, however, concurred to repress the advance of Protestantism and enabled the Roman Catholic Church to regain much of her old ascendancy. Of these, apart from divisions among the Protestants themselves, the most important was the counter Reformation that took place within the Catholic Church itself. Though usually associated with the name of Borromeo, this reaction had begun even before the rise of Protestantism, and had found expression in such movements as the Cluniac reforms and in the foundation of such organizations as the Dominican and Franciscan orders. The spread of Protestantism had been greatly furthered by the existence of evils within the Roman Catholic Church, which were acknowledged as such even by her own adherents. The sack of Rome in the year 1527 was a calamity which made a profound impression upon Christendom and was regarded by many as a Divine judgment upon the wickedness of the city. The Church was further supported in this movement by the energy of the Holy Inquisition and by the Jesuit society founded by Ignatius of Loyola. Of all of the new supporters of the Roman Catholic Church it may be said beyond dispute that the Jesuits were the most zealous and the most influential. Macaulay, indeed, has declared, not entirely without truth, that "the history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic reaction".

The founder of this famous society was a Spaniard. Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde was born in 1491 at the Castle of Loyola, in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, near the French frontier. He served as a page at the court of Ferdinand of Aragon and about 1517 he entered the army under the protection of his relative, the duke of Najera, one of the greatest nobles in Spain. In 1521, when war began between Francis I and Charles V, he held the rank of captain and was severely wounded at the siege of Pampeluna. The French, into whose hands he fell, treated him kindly and carried him to his ancestral castle, where he eventually recovered from his wound, which left him, however, with a slight lameness for life. But his recovery was preceded by a long and painful convalescence; demanding books with which to pass the time, he was given a popular work, *The Flower of the Saints*, and a Spanish translation of the *Life of Christ* by Ludolph the Carthusian, a Saxon monk to whom the authorship of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* has been attributed. These works and his meditations made so pro-

found an impression upon him that he resolved to transfer his energies from an earthly to a heavenly militarism. His idea was to enter a Carthusian monastery; but he resolved first to go to Jerusalem and expiate his sins by the penance of a pilgrimage. When he was sufficiently strong to travel he began his undertaking by keeping a spiritual vigil-at-arms in the Chapel of the Virgin at Montserrat, and then made his way to Barcelona, where he proposed to embark for Jerusalem. But an accidental meeting induced him to remain for nearly a year at Manresa, not very far from Montserrat, where he is said to have received a spiritual vision revealing to him the plan of his society and the method by which he should compile his famous Book of the Exercises. He left Manresa in 1523, as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and made his way to Rome on Palm Sunday in that year. He was able to receive the blessing of the Pope, and proceeded to Venice, begging his way. After a perilous voyage he reached Jerusalem on 14 September.

There is little doubt that the object of this pilgrimage was something of the nature of a crusade. It was not only to be a penitential performance but the starting-point of a new movement. The crusading spirit had survived longer in Spain than elsewhere, and it is probable that the society which he had in mind was intended to be one for converting the Mohammedans. But the Franciscans, to whom he was commended, showed not the slightest enthusiasm when this project was propounded to them. Their provincial was well aware that any untimely display of missionary zeal would expose all Christians in Palestine to the risk of extermination, and Ignatius was therefore refused permission to remain. He proceeded to seek a passage back to Venice. The captains of two well-found ships are said to have refused him with mockery, saying that if he were a saint, as he was popularly reported to be, it would be quite easy for him to walk upon the sea. Ignatius was therefore reduced to a passage upon a small and leaky vessel, to which, however, his presence brought good fortune. He is said to have reached Venice in 1524, while the captains who refused to help him were lost at sea.

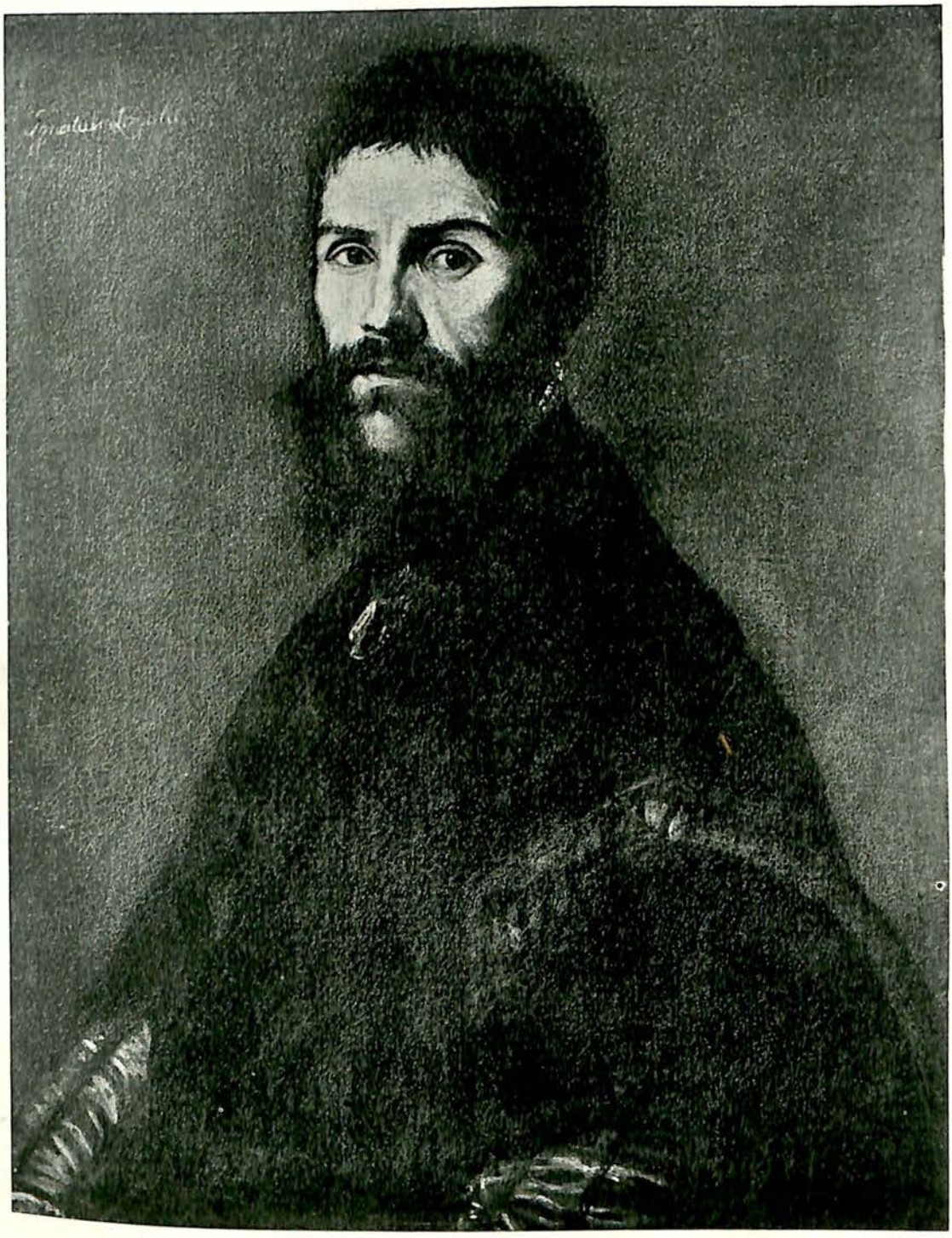
After further adventures he returned to Spain. His journey had at least taught him his ignorance and his lack of education, and he therefore resolved to devote the next years to study. From 1524 to 1528 he attended the universities of Barcelona, Alcalá, and Salamanca. His habit of combining preaching and the work of conversion with study exposed him to the suspicion of the authorities at Alcalá, and he was ordered to refrain from public meetings and speeches until he had finished his four years' course. At Salamanca he ventured to draw a distinction between mortal and venial sin before he had completed his divinity studies. The inquisitors suspected that he was a member of the sect known as the Alumbrados, the Illuminated, who professed to receive direct revelations from the Deity. Eventually he was released, but he resolved that the kind of training he required could only be procured in Paris, and in 1528 he made his way to the capital of France.

The University of Paris was, in many respects, the intellectual centre of Europe at that time, even if it had lost something of its former dominant reputation. The questions concerning the grounds upon which Henry VIII might annul his marriage with Catherine of Aragon were under discussion before this University during the period that Ignatius attended the Sorbonne. There he also gained a nearer view of the many problems which the Reformation had aroused. He saw Queen Eleanor's entrance into Paris in 1530; perhaps he also saw the execution of the Protestant Louis Berquin in 1529. There is no doubt that he studied diligently and was careful not to allow the devotional exercises which he pursued with extraordinary ardour to infringe upon the time allotted to study. One of his masters was Francis Xavier, who afterwards became famous as the Apostle of the Indies and laboured in the lands of the Far East with astonishing results. Ignatius lived in poverty throughout his time of studentship; a sum of money given him by a lady patron, Elizabeth Roser, before he left Spain, had been embezzled by a friend to whom he had entrusted it, and he was therefore obliged to seek support from the rich Spanish merchants of Flanders and others who were inclined to help him. Probably upon one of these tours he met, in the city of Bruges, the famous Spaniard, Louis Vivés, one of the most brilliant exponents of humanism in the early sixteenth century. It is likely that from this distinguished educationist Ignatius derived some of those principles which were afterwards turned to such admirable account in the Jesuit schools.

Ignatius had always been ready to gather young men round him, and in Spain he had three or four devoted adherents. In Paris he collected another little band, who were inspired with his own enthusiasm for his ideas. Pierre Le Favre was his first disciple; then followed Francis Xavier, a more difficult conquest. Other Spaniards were Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmeron, both excellent scholars, who did much work in the Council of Trent. Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese nobleman, and Nicholas Bobadilla completed the little band, which was joined by three other converts shortly before Ignatius left France. In 1534 they heard Mass and received the communion in the church of Montmartre, took vows of poverty and chastity, and bound themselves to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem when they had finished their university course. If this intention should prove impossible they were to go to Rome and place themselves at the disposal of the Pope for any purpose that he might deem desirable.

It is probable that at this period Ignatius had produced the final draft of the famous *Spiritual Exercises*, which are his best-known work. In their compilation Ignatius borrowed something from previous devotional writers. But the *Spiritual Exercises* in their final form bear the stamp of a fine originality. The book is divided into four portions, to each of which a week should be allotted as the space of time for completing the exercises contained within it. The novice who wishes to undergo the exercises must enter a retreat or a house of

the society, where a director is assigned to him who instructs him daily and directs his meditations. A cell is given him as remote from all human intercourse as possible. The exercises themselves would probably make but little impression on an incurious reader. During the first week, or period of time, for the week may be shortened or extended to suit particular cases, the course of meditations is preparatory, inducing a passive state in which the novice is prepared to receive further impressions. During the second week the glories of heaven and the majesty of God's service are set before the disciple, in contrast with the armies of Satan and with his temptations. The third week is devoted to meditation upon the Gospel story, and the fourth to contemplation of the eternal joys of Paradise. There are, however, certain points in this method which distinguish it from other systems of mysticism. Monastic societies and ascetic confraternities had hitherto come into existence as a means by which mankind might withdraw from the perils of the world and secular life. The discipline which the members of these societies underwent was directed to quenching their earthly passions that they might remain undisturbed and isolated in the contemplation of the Divine idea. The system of Ignatius regarded such a consummation as incomplete. He was by temperament and training a soldier, and if a crusade in the Holy Land were impossible it was clear that the Reformation had provided a more than adequate field for the crusading energies of Europe; therefore the mind, when purified and exalted by the exercises, was to be used for working out the salvation of others and was not to devote its powers to the achievement of its own felicity. In other words, the absorption of the soul in the Godhead is not to be the end, but the beginning, of action. In the second place, the method of the exercises laid great stress upon the use of the lower faculties and the imaginative powers for the purpose of making a distinct and lasting impression upon the mind. The novice is to adopt definite postures for contemplation, according to his temperament, and to shut out all light from his cell during the earlier part of the exercises; to form in his mind's eye precise and detailed images of the scenes and speeches upon which he meditates; not only to see, for instance, the cottage of the Blessed Virgin, situated at Nazareth, in the province of Galilee, but also "to perceive by the inward hearing, what persons are saying, and how they are conversing together." The novice is to fancy the Virgin sitting upon an ass, with Joseph and a poor maidservant and an ox, setting out for Bethlehem, and to form an idea of the journey as to its "length, obliquity, and the smoothness or roughness presenting themselves from place to place. Then also he must examine the place of the Nativity, like to a cavern, whether broad or narrow, lying flat or rising up, conveniently or inconveniently prepared". These scenes are to be gone over in the mind until the sentiments which they should excite have been actually experienced, and even the senses of taste and smell are to be used to stimulate the impression. Lastly, and obviously, much responsibility for the success of these exercises, in any particular case,



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

From the painting by Titian in the collection of Earl Spencer

depended upon the spiritual director and upon his experience in the treatment of souls. Attempts, therefore, to infer the success of Loyola's system from the mere reading of his most famous devotional work may possibly end in disappointment.

In 1537 Ignatius and his companions left Paris and made their way to Venice. The war with the Turks made a journey to Jerusalem impossible, and the little band resolved to proceed to Rome. Before they left Venice, however, Ignatius made the acquaintance of John Peter Caraffa, who afterwards became Pope, and it was probably here that Ignatius first resolved that there was work for him to do nearer home than at Jerusalem. Caraffa was anxious that Ignatius and his companions should join his own order of the Theatines, who had been approved by Clement VII in 1524, and who were a mendicant and charitable confraternity. They derived their name from the fact that one of their first superiors was bishop of Theano. But Ignatius had already a consistent idea of the Society which he wished to found, nor could any apparent difficulties turn him from his purpose. He approached Rome with considerable caution, and left his other companions in northern Italy to continue the work of preaching and teaching and to gather further disciples. In October, 1539, he reached Rome, and met with a kindly reception from the Pope, Paul III, who authorized him to begin his missionary work in the Eternal City. He therefore summoned his other companions to join him, and it now only remained for Ignatius to draw up a definite rule and constitution for the society and obtain its confirmation from the Pope.

The petition presented by Ignatius and his friends was accordingly referred by the Pope to a committee of three cardinals. At first they reported unfavourably upon it. Reform was certainly in the air, but it was a reform that rather desired the purification or suppression of existing religious orders than the foundation of new ones. However, Ignatius succeeded in overcoming this opposition, and on 27 September, 1540, the Papal Bull founding the Society of Jesus was issued. The intention of the society is thus stated in the terms of the Bull: "Whosoever shall wish to bear arms for God in our Society, which we desire to be called the Society of Jesus, and to serve only Jesus for Our Lord and the Roman Pontiff as Vicar on earth, must, after having made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, set before himself that he is going to belong to a Society principally instituted to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and teaching, for the propagation of the faith by public teaching, by the ministry of the Word of God, by the Spiritual Exercises and by works of charity, especially by teaching the catechism to children and to those who are not properly instructed in Christianity, and by hearing the confessions of the faithful for their spiritual consolation. . . . The General or Superior whom we shall choose will decide upon the degree fitted to each one, as well as the offices, all of which shall be in his hands. This General shall have authority to make constitutions agreeable to the aim of the institution with the consent of those who are associated

with him and in a council where everything is to be decided by the plurality of votes. . . . Although we have learnt from the Gospel and from the orthodox faith and although we profess to believe firmly that all the faithful of Jesus Christ are subject to the Roman Pontiff as to their head and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, nevertheless, in order that the humility of our Society may be still greater, we have thought that it would be very useful to bind ourselves by a peculiar vow so that, whatever the present Roman Pontiff or his successors may command us concerning the good of souls and the propagation of the faith, we may be obliged to carry out instantly, without evasion or excuse, in whatever country they may send us, whether to the Turks or any other infidels or even to the Indies, or to heretics and schismatics or to any of the faithful. . . . All will make a vow to obey the General in everything that concerns the observance of our rule and the General will prescribe the things which he is aware will be calculated to accomplish the end which God and the Society have had in view."

The document then proceeds to lay stress upon the importance of instructing children in the faith, and provides for the foundation of colleges by the society, the students of which may be admitted members upon the approval of their superiors. Thus the character of the society is designedly somewhat vague. It was an advance from small beginnings, and the most definite characteristics are its military purpose and the implicit obedience of its members to the General, whose power over the members is absolute. The number of members was limited to sixty, and the association did not intend it to grow in size until the nature of their purpose had become more clearly obvious. The right of the members to express their views to the General in a council, and the statement that students are only to be admitted members after due approval, is in approximation to the constitutions of older orders, but these provisions in no way prevented the society from developing upon new lines. Shortly after the reception of the Papal Bull, Ignatius announced in a letter the departure of Francis Xavier for Portugal and thence for India. He was accompanied by another member, Rodriguez. Meanwhile the six members who were left in Rome proceeded to elect their General, the absentees having sent their votes in writing. Ignatius was unanimously elected, but refused the honour. A second election produced the same result. Eventually he gave way, and received the vows of his companions on 22 April, 1541.

No sooner was Ignatius elected than he devoted himself specially to two objects—the drawing up of a constitution and personal service for the "greater glory of God", a formula which constantly reappears in his letters and writings. He began, for instance, by accepting the humble office of cook in the household, and for some time gave religious instruction to little children, a duty to which some of the members had shown some disinclination. He is said to have spent his day as follows: On rising he meditated for an hour and then celebrated Mass. He then received visitors or left the house if outside business required his presence. After dinner he would talk on divine and

instructive subjects. He then signed his letters and conducted correspondence or dealt with the various details of administrative work. After supper he prepared business for the next day, and instructed his secretary upon his course of action. He never slept for more than four hours. His work in Rome was concentrated upon the privations caused by the famine, and was especially concerned with the conversion of the Jews, the formation of rescue homes, and the relief and education of orphan children. One of the first missions accomplished by members of his society, after the departure of Francis Xavier, sent two of his companions to Ireland. The Roman Catholic population found much trouble in maintaining relations with the Papacy, and one of the Irish bishops had asked the Pope to send a Nuncio who might grant dispensations and look into existing difficulties. The two Jesuits were only able to remain thirty-six days in Ireland, as a price was set upon their heads, but the fact that they were dispatched upon such a mission was evidence of the real appreciation which the Pope felt for their society. Other evidence of the kind is the fact that Ignatius was able to act as mediator between the Pope and John III, king of Portugal, when friction had arisen concerning the disposal of an important benefice. Again, in 1548, he persuaded the citizens of Tivoli and the occupants of the Castle of St. Angelo to submit a quarrel to arbitration when an appeal to force seemed likely to result. Members were offered benefices and cardinals' hats, and Ignatius had some difficulty in persuading would-be benefactors of the society that ecclesiastical dignities and honours were entirely foreign to his plans, which were based upon vows of humility and poverty.

Members of the society thus increased rapidly, and as Ignatius worked at his constitution he gradually modified his scheme of government. To preserve the unity of the society an increase in the General's authority was inevitable, and two further Papal Bulls approved steps in the direction of absolutism. Pope Julius III, who came to the chair in 1550, was favourably disposed to the society, and through his influence two of its former members, Laynez and Salmeron, were present as his delegates at the Council of Trent. The election, however, of Caraffa, who took the title of Paul IV in 1555, opened a period of difficulty and trial for Ignatius. The new Pope desired to limit the powers of the General, who was to be appointed for three years and not for life. He also suspected the society, misinterpreting the principles and nature of its military organization as likely to foment rebellion. These suspicions were no doubt derived from his innate hostility to Spain. However, the Pope's interference caused no definite change in the general scheme of the constitution. In the beginning of 1556 Ignatius was in weak health, and resigned the government to a commission of three fathers. He died on 3 July of that year, and was canonized in 1628.

To analyse the character of a religious enthusiast is a process often likely to lead to disappointing results. The outstanding features in the case of Ignatius are, in the first place, the fact that his powers

were of late development. He underwent little or no scholastic training until he had passed the age of thirty. Possibly for that very reason his mysticism never overcame his common sense. While he saw visions and dreamed dreams he was also prudent, thoughtful, and calculating. The combination of these qualities, added to a wonderful genius for detail, enabled him to found a society of a more original kind than any that the Church had yet seen, though he had perhaps little conception of the services which he performed to the Roman Catholic Church. Upon his death Laynez was elected vicar general and eventually General. Paul IV died in 1559, and his successor, Pius IV, was more kindly disposed to the order. His predecessor's modifications of the society's rule had never been reduced to writing, and the General induced Pius IV to revoke these as far as was necessary. The last obstacle before the spread of the society had thus been removed. The Latin countries were soon covered with its institutions. In Germany and Austria progress was slower, and in France the society could only obtain a footing in the teeth of much opposition. Its members fulfilled the most varied offices with that complete abnegation and total self-submission to the rules of the order and the commands of the General which Ignatius had regarded as one of the keystones of the society.

Few writers pass over the history of the Jesuits without referring to their services in the cause of education, but equally few give any description of their educational system. Their skill as educators is attested even by Bacon and Descartes, and in Catholic Europe at least, and to some extent in Protestant countries, their schools drove all competitors from the field. As we have stated, the Papal Bull under which they were founded referred to education as one of their objects. Understanding that secular learning was in greater demand than religious instruction, they ensured that the former should give them the opportunity of inculcating the latter. Through various Popes they obtained powers for founding schools and colleges and for lecturing at universities. Few of them were dispensed from the duty of giving elementary instruction, and Laynez himself, the second General, had performed this duty in Florence. The Jesuit teacher was obliged to devote his whole energies to his work. He usually began with his boys in the lowest form or class, and followed them up the school that he might be able to study the character of his pupils as they developed. As in other cases, his personal predilections had to be suppressed, and his efficiency in this respect and as an instructor was guaranteed by a system of supervision and the continual writing of reports. Jesuit instruction was gratuitous to all, nor were poverty or low birth any hindrance to a pupil's admission. The subject-matter of instruction was naturally confined to the classical languages, and in particular to Latin, which was, as far as possible, to supersede all other languages, even in speaking. The nature of the instruction was determined by two leading principles: enormous and meticulous thoroughness in mastering the elements were specially demanded, and great pains were taken to foster

emulation. In the lower parts of the school, boys were arranged in pairs, each couple being in rivalry with one another. Every class was divided into two opposing parties, known as Rome and Carthage, which competed from time to time by questioning one another upon set subjects. In this way some relief was given to the comparative slowness with which a pupil advanced in consequence of the pains that were taken to ensure that every member of the class should have a thorough knowledge of what he learnt. Further, the work was to be made as attractive as possible; pupils were not to be overtasked, corporal punishment was to be sparingly used, and the school hours reasonably short, in all of which respects the Jesuit schools contrasted most favourably with the medieval grammar schools. To this sensible organization the popularity of their schools was largely due. In France the University at one time procured a decree forbidding Parisians to send away their sons to Jesuit schools. Ranke states: "It was found that young persons learnt more in the Jesuit schools in half a year than at others in two years. Even Protestants called their children back from distant schools to put them under the care of the Jesuits."

Possibly no body of men has ever been so profoundly hated, but no amount of obloquy could hide the fact that their devotion to their own idea of Christian duty has never been surpassed. Differences of opinion arose from differences in ideal. Both Pascal and the Jesuits were ready to combine upon the point that the ideal Christian would do everything to "the greater glory of God", but the Jesuits declined to recognize the rights of the individual. The manifest kingdom of God was to them the Roman Catholic Church, and the Company of Jesus was the organized army of the Church; indeed Ignatius himself used the term company in its military sense, and the Jesuits therefore considered that the glory of God and the success of their society were convertible terms.

CHAPTER V

William the Silent (A.D. 1533–1584)

William the Silent, prince of Orange, and the founder of Dutch liberty, has been strangely misnamed by the course of events; he was by no means of a taciturn nature, it is probable that he never saw the principality of Orange, and he was not a Dutchman by birth. His career was indeed anomalous; by birth a German count, he became a titular prince of France and a magnate of Holland by inheritance: though his family were Lutherans, he was educated as a Roman Catholic, and died a Calvinist. The eldest son of William, count of Nassau, he was born on 25 April, 1533; by the will of his cousin René he became heir, at the age of twelve, to the wide Netherland fiefs of the Nassau family and to the empty title of Prince of Orange, a little state upon the Rhone. When he was twenty-six years of age he became head of the house of Nassau upon his father's death, and transferred the possessions and revenues to his brother John. He was four times married, and left a family of twelve children, from whom descended the royal house of Hohenzollern-Brandenburg, William III of England, by male line, and by female line the Orléans house of France, the reigning king of Spain, and the present royal house of England, not to speak of such famous figures as Marshal Turenne, or Princes Rupert and Maurice, the nephews of Charles I of England; Wilhelmina, the present queen of Holland, is descended in both lines from William the Silent and from his brother, John of Nassau. No family of importance in European history can show such a record of constant intermarriage and prolific issue.

William's early life was spent at the family castle of Dillenburg. In 1544, upon the death of René of Orange, he was taken to Brussels and acknowledged as heir to his great Flemish inheritance. The emperor, Charles V, had approved René's will on condition that the heir should be brought up at his court, and from his twelfth year William was educated as a Catholic, and became a special favourite of Charles V, who showed great interest in him, made him his page, and afterwards gentleman of the chamber, and thus initiated him into the conduct of high affairs of state. At the age of eighteen he was married to Anne of Egmont, the only daughter and heiress of Count Maximilian of Buren, one of the Flemish magnates: she died six years later, and the prince was occupied with military service for the greater part of their married life. During the warfare between the emperor and the league of the German princes and the French king, which ended in the peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559, the prince showed vast perseverance and

energy in his command of an ill-paid and disorderly army of mercenary troops; but he emerged from the campaign with the credit of a diplomatist and statesman rather than with that of a strategist or tactician. In October, 1555, he was summoned to be present at the brilliant scene when the emperor abdicated in favour of his son, Philip II, and it was upon the prince's shoulder that the emperor leaned for support as he made his way into the great assembly hall of the Brussels palace. Philip continued the former emperor's marks of confidence and made William a state councillor and a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. At the age of twenty-five he was thus one of the most powerful men in Europe; in possession of vast estates, expending large sums in royal entertainment, and devoted to the amusements of the age, he was universally popular. The memoirs of Pontus Payen, a Catholic, and no sympathizer with the aims of the prince at the time when he wrote, give the following account of him:—

> Never did arrogant or indiscreet word issue from his mouth, under the impulse of anger or other passion; if any of his servants were in fault, he was content to admonish him gently without threats or abuse. He commanded a sweet and winning power of persuasion, by means of which he gave form to the great ideas within him, and thus he succeeded in bending to his will the other lords about the court as he chose. He was loved and in favour high above all men with the people for the gracious manner that he had of saluting and addressing familiarly and attractively all whom he met.

After the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis had been concluded between Philip II and Henry II of France the prince of Orange was chosen as one of the state hostages who were to remain with Henry as guarantees for the performance of the treaty; with him were the duke of Alva and two others, and it was during this stay in Paris that the incident occurred which made William famous as *le Taciturne*, the Silent. The story is related by Pontus Payen, as follows:—

> One day during a stag-hunt in the Bois de Vincennes, Henry, finding himself alone with the prince, began to speak of the great number of Protestant sectaries who had increased so much during the late war, to his great sorrow. His conscience, said the king, would not be easy nor his realm secure, until he could see it purged of the "accursed vermin" who would one day overthrow his government under pretence of religion if they were allowed to get the upper hand. This was the more to be feared, since some of the chief men in the kingdom and even some princes of the blood were on their side. But he hoped by the grace of God and the good understanding that he had with his new son, the king of Spain, that he would soon master them. The king talked on thus to Orange in the full conviction that he was cognisant of the secret agreement recently made with the duke of Alva for the extirpation of heresy. But the prince, subtle and adroit as he was, answered the good king in such a way as to leave him under the impression that he, the prince, was in full possession of the scheme propounded by Alva; and under this belief the king

revealed all the details of the plan arranged between the king ot Spain and himself for the rooting out and rigorous punishment of the heretics, from the lowest to the highest rank, and in this service the Spanish troops were to be mainly employed.

The historical nature of the incident and the judicious silence preserved by the prince are confirmed by a reference to the incident in his *Apology*, of which we shall speak later. He states that he was resolved "from that moment to chase the Spanish vermin from the land", and whether or not this resolution was then so suddenly and irrevocably conceived as he afterwards represented it, the fact remains that a few days after the occurrence he obtained leave of absence for a journey to the Netherlands, where he explained what he had heard to his friends and urged them to demand in the forthcoming States-General the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, and to refuse a vote of supplies except under this condition.

From the age when the Celtic Belgæ inhabited the southern parts of the Netherlands, and the Frisians, Batavians, and other Teutonic clans the northern parts, the country had been divided by a distinct line of racial demarcation. The south remained Gallic and the north Germanic; the latter became Protestant and the former Catholic. At the outset of the sixteenth century the Netherlands were inhabited by a busy and thriving population of some 3,000,000 souls, collected in cities, scattered in thousands of prosperous villages and hamlets, and protected by a belt of strong fortresses. The great cities—Ghent, Mechlin, Haarlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, and Antwerp—had grown to wealth and power by their manufactures and commerce; the position once held by the Hansa towns of northern Germany had been largely usurped by the enterprising sailors of the Netherlands. Wealth brought influence and power; feudal lords had granted city charters and privileges, and when Charles V obtained possession of the country, the chief Netherland towns were in the position of so many city states, regulating their own affairs and sending their several representatives to the States-General, the general assembly of the provinces. In 1540 Charles had severely punished the town of Ghent for refusal to pay its share of a general subsidy demanded from the country; he did his best to extirpate the Reformation heresy, introduced the Inquisition, and carried on a persecution from 1521 to 1555. But when he finally retired to his monastery the reformed doctrines were even more widely spread and more deeply rooted in the Netherlands than at the outset of his persecution. Philip left Brussels in 1559 for Spain, never to return, and entrusted the government of the country to his half-sister, Margaret, duchess of Parma. The prince of Orange was made governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, and given a nominal command in the Spanish contingent. He was able to check the religious persecution in some degree, but he had no voice in the government of the country.

The prince now resolved to marry a second time; his choice

ultimately fell upon Anne of Saxony, the only daughter of the late Elector Maurice. She was likely to inherit a considerable fortune, and her position and connections made the match entirely suitable. She was, however, a Protestant, and descended from two foremost supporters of the Lutheran movement. The prince was a Catholic, and professedly a supporter of Philip II and all his works. There were therefore considerable obstacles to be overcome on either side; and the negotiations, which exhausted the diplomatic powers of the prince, lasted for nearly two years. However, in 1561 the marriage was celebrated at Leipzig amid all imaginable splendour, and its achievement is a fair measure of the religious views entertained by the prince. Like Cromwell, he was tolerant in advance of his age. He remained ostensibly a Catholic for some years afterwards; at the same time he had a considerable respect for Protestants: while he objected to persecution, he had an equal dislike of rebellion and anarchy. He may have been a religious indifferentist, but he was an interested politician, and he would not stand by and see the inhabitants of his provinces despoiled of property and life to advance the propagation of ideas which brought no conviction to himself. Such was his position at the age of twenty-eight; at a later date his conviction became more definitely coloured by religious influences.

The prince began his opposition to Philip's policy upon strictly constitutional lines, and for a time with such success that the Spanish troops were eventually withdrawn from Flanders. Cardinal Granvelle, who was Philip's instrument in the country, found his position increasingly difficult; he was constantly at variance with the prince of Orange, and besought Philip to remove this opponent as speedily as possible. Nor was he mistaken in his surmises that the prince was a source of danger; he was, in fact, striving to form some alliance which would enable the Netherlands to make head in the struggle which he saw to be imminent: he attempted to organize a combination between the nobles of the Netherlands and of Lutheran Germany; he applied to the French Huguenots and to the queen of England. At length the cardinal was recalled, and it seemed that Orange had triumphed in every direction; Spanish soldiers, prelates, and politicians were gone, and the country rejoiced. But Philip had only retired for the moment in order to spring with greater and more ruthless force.

The respite lasted but three years. Philip regaled the representatives of the Netherlands with promises, and urged his regent, Margaret, to redouble the severity of the Inquisition. The duchess was at her wits' end: she truthfully replied that the heretics were too many in number to burn, and that the provincial authorities declined to execute her orders. Orange himself saw that further attempts to influence Philip were useless. The more ardent Protestants began to meet and form associations and schemes for defence of a nature too violent for the prince to countenance. Of these men the chief figures were Louis of Nassau, the prince's brother, and Count Brederode, alike reckless and impetuous characters. At length a request was drawn

up in moderate terms, with the sanction of the prince, and presented to the regent; the petitioners asked that the Inquisition and the edicts against so-called heresy might be suspended. The regent received the request with obvious alarm, and promised to consult the king, and meanwhile to moderate the edicts. In her council, one Berlaymont broke out with the memorable words: "Madam, is Your Highness afraid of these beggars? By the living God, they should be driven out with sticks!" These words were carried to the petitioners, who were gathered at a banquet, and the impetuous Brederode hung a beggar's wallet round his neck, and, filling a bowl with wine, proposed the toast of "The Beggars". The name was unanimously adopted, and became the party title of the Netherland patriots throughout the ensuing struggle. Nowhere was the impotence of the Catholic Government more obvious than in Antwerp. "There are more heretics in Antwerp than in Geneva", wrote the cardinal, and a brisk trade was pursued in the wallets and bowls which formed the badges of the Beggars. The prince had left Antwerp for an interview with the duchess regent at Brussels, on the day when the public procession of the Virgin was celebrated. In his absence the mob insulted the Virgin's image, and, bursting into the cathedral, wrecked and shattered every ornament to be seen in the edifice. From Antwerp the iconoclastic mania spread throughout the Netherlands, and churches were devastated far and wide. The prince restored order upon his return to Antwerp, and gave the cathedral back to the Catholics, assigning other churches to the Lutherans and Calvinists. The duchess regent was cowed by the storm; Philip II was infuriated. "By the soul of my father," he swore, "it shall cost them dear." His bigotry was more stirred by the destruction of church ornaments than by any loss of life, and his dark and relentless animosity was now concentrated upon a scheme of revenge.

The prince of Orange was fully aware that Philip's preparations were not intended for the Turks or for any country except the Netherlands. He foresaw the approach of a long, deadly, and ruinous struggle, and while anxiously trying every expedient that might make for peace, in the conviction that the religious issues at stake were not important enough to justify years of bloodshed, he also showed unwearied energy in the search for allies. He attempted to organize a party among the nobility of the country, but was unable to secure any agreement among them. Some were loyal to Philip, others were weak, and it became clear that the best way of averting a Spanish invasion for the moment was to avoid any breach of the peace, and to discover some arrangement whereby the various religions might be practised without friction and conflict. The prince, as he explained in a manifesto to the States, preferred some measure of local option, or the permission for every religious body to practise their faith within quarters definitely assigned. He would not approve any measures of persecution or any grant of a monopoly to one religion at the expense of other creeds. His efforts to enlist the sym-

pathies of Protestants elsewhere were unproductive of result; the French Huguenots and the queen of England were unable or unwilling to give any effective support, the German Lutherans objected to the Calvinism of the Netherland Protestants. Meanwhile the Netherland Calvinists refused to listen to counsels of moderation, and various petty risings and outbreaks took place, which invariably ended in defeat. Jean de Marnix, lord of Tholouse, for instance, attacked the Isle of Walcheren with a body of undisciplined half-armed enthusiasts, who were eventually cut to pieces at Ostrawell, a short distance to the north of Antwerp. Antwerp itself was in a state of ferment, but the prince was able to restore order without bloodshed. He felt that resistance, to be successful, must be properly organized at home and also be supported by co-religionists in other states. The final breach between himself and Philip occurred when the regent asked him to sign a form of oath "to serve His Majesty, and to act towards and against all and every as shall be ordered by me on his behalf, without limitation or restriction". The prince saw that Philip had laid a trap for him; he declined to take the oath, resigned his offices, and left the country for Breda in the early months of 1567.

Meanwhile Ferdinand de Toledo, duke of Alva, had left Spain with an army of 24,000 men, largely composed of Spanish veterans, to take over the government of the Netherlands. The commander was regarded as one of the greatest soldiers of his age; to all the class prejudice and arrogance of the Spanish grandee he added a fine capacity for cruelty and deceit, a fanatical bigotry upon religious questions, and a loyalty to his master that was ruthless and inexorable. His appointment was most distasteful to the duchess regent, who was under the impression that Philip would come in person. The king of Spain turned a deaf ear to her remonstrances. Alva began his Council of Blood; Counts Horn and Egmont were arrested and executed, the prince of Orange was outlawed; his eldest son and heir was treacherously seized and carried to Spain as a prisoner and a hostage. A reign of terror began for the common people; Alva is said upon his own showing to have put to death some 18,000 persons in one way and another by the time that he resigned his commission, and the country groaned beneath the stringent oppression of fanatics who seemed resolved to exterminate the nation.

In April, 1567, the prince of Orange retired from Breda to his family castle of Dillenburg. Family troubles were added to his political cares; his wife, Anna of Saxony, was entering upon the early stages of the madness which ended in her death; she constantly thwarted her husband's desires and treated him with an acerbity which was positively contumelious. He began to contemplate a conversion to Lutheranism, and his son, Maurice, who was born in September, was baptized in that faith. He also circulated a "justification" by way of reply to the sentence of outlawry passed upon him. This lengthy document was composed in French and circulated in German, Latin, Dutch, English, and Spanish. It reviewed the course of past events, defended

himself from the charge of disloyalty, and pointed out the destruction and ruin which Philip was bringing upon the country in pursuance of a religious idea. He also began energetically to organize a general war; money was raised; three expeditions were to invade Flanders—from Artois, from the Rhine, and from the Ems—while the prince with reserves awaited the result upon the lower Rhine. Louis of Nassau, who advanced by way of the Ems, defeated a Spanish detachment which he had drawn into an entanglement of dikes and morasses upon the left bank of the Ems, but his force was afterwards cut to pieces at Jemmingen with dreadful slaughter, and the prince only escaped by swimming across the river. The other two expeditions ended in dismal and disastrous failure: the prestige of Alva and the capacity of his troops were fully vindicated. The prince then applied to the French Huguenots for assistance; in August, 1568, he concluded an alliance with Coligny and Condé and collected an army of Walloon and German mercenaries. His undisciplined troops, who were chiefly concerned to earn their pay, were no match for Alva's well-trained forces, and the prince's strategy was both ill-conceived and feebly executed; the Flemish towns would not rise to support him or pay the contributions which they had promised. The prince was obliged to disband the miserable remnant of his forces and retreat to France. His brothers joined Condé and the Huguenots, while the prince eventually returned to Nassau alone, discredited and in the sorest financial straits. Alva informed Philip that he might regard the prince of Orange as a dead man, and in truth his fortunes seemed to have reached the lowest possible ebb. Those who should have known better impugned his personal courage; the people whom he wished to help were too dispirited to help themselves; the German Lutherans reproached him for supporting heretic Calvinists: and yet the prince continued to work and to hope.

Two circumstances now contributed to produce that surprising reversal of fortune which was to transform the whole character of the struggle. Alva imposed a system of taxation which drove the Netherlands traders to desperation: a tax of 5 per cent was imposed on every sale of real property and one of 10 per cent on every sale of goods; from every loaf of bread, from every tankard of liquor, Spain would have the "tenth penny", as the thrifty burghers styled the tax. The persecution of their consciences had made this mercantile population dispirited and abject; the persecution of their pockets aroused them to the highest pitch of infuriated exasperation. Alva's tax had thus created material for a promising insurrection, and in another quarter evidence was forthcoming that the Spaniards were by no means invincible in war. For some time Huguenot privateer ships had been sailing from the west coast of France upon purposes often indistinguishable from piratical raids. Louis of Nassau induced his brother to issue letters of marque to these freebooters, and the prince's authority was recognized in English ports when Elizabeth thought that recognition would serve her interests. William of Orange attempted to

WILLIAM ("THE SILENT"), PRINCE OF ORANGE

From the painting by M. J. van Mierevelt in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam

Michiel Janszen van Mierevelt (1567–1641) was born and died at Delft, the town in which William was assassinated. He is supposed to have painted a greater number of portraits than any other artist of his country, but comparatively few of the two thousand or more portraits which bear his name are wholly his own handiwork.

organize the operations and to control the excesses of these desperadoes, who harried the Netherland coasts, plundered and slaughtered the Catholics, and even attacked the Spanish navy itself. When the Nassaus began to organize these "Sea Beggars" Elizabeth was obliged to declare her position; she did not wish to begin a war with Spain at that time and she therefore excluded the Beggars from English harbours. This proclamation drove a fleet of twenty-five ships into the mouth of the Meuse before Brill on 1 April, 1572. The Beggars stormed the town, sacked the churches and monasteries, murdered the priests, and issued an inflammatory address to the inhabitants of Zeeland. The prince of Orange was proclaimed as stadtholder, and a force sent by Alva to retake the town was beaten off. The result was a general and unexpected outburst of enthusiasm for the cause. Refugees and patriots flocked to the support of the Beggars. Flushing and the Island of Walcheren, the key of Zeeland and the gate of Antwerp, were seized and garrisoned before Alva had time to appreciate the danger which threatened him, and every town of any importance in the district declared for the prince.

His cause was further aided by a change in the attitude of France. In 1570 the religious wars were brought to a temporary conclusion by the Peace of St. Germain, upon terms very favourable to the Huguenots. Coligny and Louis of Nassau now seemed to control French policy, La Rochelle became a base from which help could be sent to Holland, and the imbecile Charles IX even agreed to expend a large sum upon the arrears of pay due to the German auxiliaries. Philip's agents were informed that France had actually arranged a scheme for the partition of the Netherlands between herself, England, and the Nassaus, and that attacks were to be made upon him from three separate quarters with the countenance of France. This policy never came to anything, and was unlikely to produce any result in an age when policies were chiefly dictated by mutual distrust. Alva at the same time wrote to Philip asking to be relieved of his command: he was suffering from gout and was very despondent at his lack of success. Philip refused to recall him, but sent a fleet under Medina Cœli with reinforcements and a large treasure. The fleet and treasure were captured by the Sea Beggars at Flushing, while Louis of Nassau seized Mons with a small army. Money and men were coming in to William of Orange, and in June, 1572, he crossed the Rhine to the north of Düsseldorf. Louis was besieged in Mons by the Spaniards, but the prince was informed that Coligny was advancing with a strong force to his relief. Presumably for this reason he did not himself advance in that direction.

But Coligny was even then dead and his body was lying in a Paris street. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day shattered the prospects of Calvinism and struck the prince and his followers with a crushing seizure of despair. He struggled slowly towards Mons, where Louis was yearning for his arrival; but he could not control his greedy mercenaries, whom the country people feared almost as much

as the Spaniards. On the night of 11 September the Spaniards surprised his camp, and the prince only escaped capture through the wakefulness of his favourite dog. He was then obliged to retreat with his mutinous and exasperated mercenaries, while nothing remained for Louis in Mons except capitulation. Prostrate with fever he was carried back to Dillenburg, while the prince, indomitable as ever, attempted to gather resources for a fresh attempt. Two facts had become clear to him: with mercenary troops he could make no head against Philip's trained veterans; like Cromwell, he must have men "who made some conscience of what they did" and were united by a better spirit than avarice and a nobler object than plunder. Further, he began to see that the racial difference between the districts known to us as Holland and Belgium counted for something. It was not in the southern provinces that the standard of revolt could be successfully raised; the real interest and spirit of the movement was centred in Holland and Zeeland. Thither the prince accordingly made his way with a few followers, and after reorganizing the governments of Haarlem and Leyden he made Delft his headquarters. Under his guidance the Dutch towns now began that series of desperate struggles from which they eventually emerged with independence and religious liberty.

Alva sacked the town of Mons, after the retirement of Louis of Nassau, and proceeded to destroy Mechlin and Naarden, near Amsterdam, with every circumstance of brutality and lust. The Jesuit historian Strada characterized this action as "not a punishment but a crime". Alva then entrusted the siege of Haarlem to his son, Don Frederic. This city, lying between Amsterdam and the sea, was situated amid shallow lakes and marshes and connected with the interior by raised roads or causeways, which were at the same time dikes protecting the city from the sea. Don Frederic's opening attempt to storm the place with 30,000 soldiers was repulsed, and the well-known siege began in which the experience of the Spaniards was constantly defeated by the ingenuity of the inhabitants, whose fierce heroism was supported by the valour of their women and children. After seven terrible months the city was starved into surrender in spite of the prince's energetic efforts to save it. Relief parties by land and sea were destroyed by the Spanish troops, and on 14 July, 1572, Don Frederic, who had lost 12,000 men during the siege, entered the town and massacred the majority of the inhabitants. He then attacked Alkmaar, a little town on the sandy strip of north Holland, between the North Sea and the Zuyder Zee. The inhabitants repulsed an assault, opened their sluice gates, and surrounded the Spaniards with the ocean. Don Frederic was unable to meet this device, and retired after a siege of seven weeks. The Spanish troops, unpaid, unprovisioned, and worn out with fighting, were in a state of mutiny; Alva, broken in health, was unable to grapple with the difficulties of the situation and was at length replaced by Don Luis de Requesens, in November, 1573. In the spring of 1574 Louis raised another army

of unruly mercenaries and crossed the Rhine. Orange vainly strove to join him, but the impetuous Louis was entrapped by the Spaniards in the marshes of the Meuse and the Waal and his army was annihilated. Louis himself and his brother Henry perished in the rout, and Orange lost in him his favourite brother and his most indefatigable helper.

The prince had embraced and publicly professed the Calvinist faith a short time before. This step was taken in no spirit of dogmatic zeal. He had no interest in theological disputations, and could not understand why different sects should be unable to live together in peace and harmony. He now gave his official sanction to the cause with which he had identified himself, and, trusting as he did in the general principles of divine Providence, he might as readily have become a Lutheran had circumstances dictated such a step. For the next four or five years the tide of struggle turned in his favour. The capture of Middelburg obliged the Spaniards to recognize the position of the prince as stadtholder and they began to try whether they could effect by diplomacy what they had failed to secure by war. But the prince declined to abate a fraction of his principal demands: Spaniards and foreigners must leave the country, and full religious liberty must be granted to its inhabitants. He would put no trust in Spanish promises, and the memorable triumph of Leyden had strengthened his position. How the heroic burgomaster refused to surrender though starvation stared the citizens in the face, how Boisot's fleet sailed over cornfields to the city, cutting the dikes and awaiting the inrush of the sea, how anxious eyes scanned the heavens for signs of the favouring wind that would help to swell the tide, how the famished citizens welcomed the relieving force, has been a theme for the novelist as well as the historian. The foundation of the famous university of Leyden, with a charter recording that the most Catholic monarch, "after ripely deliberating with his dear cousin, William, prince of Orange", had resolved to provide for the better instruction of youth, may have been "one of the most delicious pieces of irony on record"; it was in any case a token of the confidence with which the people regarded the issue of the struggle. The legal fiction which could represent Philip as rewarding Leyden with a Protestant university for successful rebellion against himself soon ceased to exist. The prince was regularly installed as governor of the country with a fixed income for the expenses of the war: this step was taken at his own request, in order to end the disputes and friction with the States which his somewhat anomalous position had previously provoked. As a budget, he had proposed 45,000 florins a month: the attempt of the States to haggle for 30,000 florins was characteristic and was silenced by the prince with a justifiable display of temper.

About this time the prince contracted a third marriage. Anne of Saxony had been convicted of adultery, was hopelessly insane, and was imprisoned in a dungeon at Dresden by her own family, who had taken charge of her in 1575 at the request of the Nassaus. The prince selected as his third wife Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of

Louis, duke of Montpensier, of the French royal family. Forced into a convent during her childhood, she had become a Protestant and had fled to Heidelberg to the protection of the Elector Palatine. There the prince had seen her, and, in spite of much opposition from her family and from his own, he married her in 1575, with the best results for the happiness of himself and his children. At this moment the war broke out again with renewed vigour. The Spaniards, fully convinced that negotiations could lead to nothing, had collected forces amounting to 55,000 men and stormed one Dutch fortress after another. The prince told the Dutch that they must find some other country or ruler to give them protection and support. He applied to England, but Elizabeth would promise nothing. She did not love Calvinism, she feared Philip, and was quite satisfied to see the two forces exhaust one another. In the spring of 1576, when the prince's cause seemed desperate, Requesens died, and the Spanish military administration fell into confusion; the difficulty of the commanders was increased by the mutinous spirit of the troops, and the series of Spanish successes came to a standstill. William of Orange, now that he had a definite position as stadtholder, was able to further the cause of union, and strove to induce the other Netherland provinces to form a federation with Holland and Zeeland. The excesses of the Spanish troops supported the appeals of the prince, and fifteen provinces sent representatives to meet the prince. The result of their deliberations was the "Pacification of Ghent", a treaty signed on 8 November, 1576, by which all the seventeen provinces solemnly undertook to expel the Spaniards. When this task had been accomplished, religious questions were to be settled in the spirit of toleration which the prince had constantly recommended. While these deliberations were in progress the mutinous Spanish troops horrified the country by their excesses: defying their officers, they sacked Maestricht as though the place had been captured in regular warfare, and then turned upon Antwerp. The citizens made some attempt at defence under the guidance of Champigny, the governor of the city; but their frail barricades were swept away by the savage and infuriated mutineers, and the "Spanish Fury" destroyed some 8000 citizens, women, and children in the lust for blood and treasure, and inflicted a blow upon the city from which it was long in recovering.

The prince had thus succeeded in uniting the provinces upon the one essential point; but in reality hatred of Spain was the only point that was common to the contracting parties. The prince must have known that Calvinism and Catholicism would turn and rend each other as soon as Spain retired from the land. This, however, was not the pressing question at the moment. Philip had resolved to send as governor his half-brother, Don John of Austria, then in his thirtieth year and in the full triumph of his success over the Turks at Lepanto. Don John came as a mediator; the policy of Alva had failed, and the era of fire and sword was now to be closed. The prince of Orange speedily took the measure of this adventurer; even

if he was sincere, Philip was false, and the prince was resolved that the Netherlanders should not be lulled into security by those who cried peace where peace was impossible. The withdrawal of troops, even the demolition of fortresses, would not satisfy Orange; full independence was his object, and in the diplomatic duel he proved superior. Don John, in irritation, dropped the mask and began a policy of aggression. He seized Namur, and the country was again in a ferment. From the mouth of the Scheldt to the Zuyder Zee the authority of the prince was acknowledged; Flanders and Brabant were also ready to support him, and his state entry into Brussels in September, 1577, marked the zenith of his power. He urged the provinces to refuse Don John's terms, attractive as they seemed, and those who reproached him for his obstinacy in prolonging the struggle were not aware that Philip had already ordered his troops to return to the Netherlands. By the end of January, 1578, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, arrived with troops from Spain and Italy. He at once defeated the whole military forces of the Belgian states; William of Orange retired to Antwerp and watched the collapse of the federation which he had laboured with such anxious care to establish.

The Belgian nobles were Catholics, jealous of the prince for his position and hating him for his Calvinism. The inhabitants of Zeeland and Holland, with the intolerant bigotry of their age, were ready to persecute all Catholics, whatever their nationality. The German allies objected to Calvinists and Catholics with equal vehemence. It seemed likely that civil war would be added to the horrors of the Spanish invasion, and yet the prince of Orange, amid this turmoil of conflicting interests, strove, and not unsuccessfully, to guide the whirlwind and control the storm. But all hopes of a national union were gone. In January, 1579, the northern provinces formed the Union of Utrecht, binding themselves to promote Protestantism and in effect to refuse allegiance to the king; in the same month the southern provinces concluded the Treaty of Arras, undertaking to maintain Catholicism and practically to submit to Philip. A conference was held at Cologne in April under the emperor, Rudolph II, who had offered his services as mediator; the prince of Orange attended the meeting, but no result was secured. It was clear that the two creeds would not unite in opposition to Spain, and that the prince must throw in his lot with one or the other. He chose the Union of Utrecht, from which the modern state of Holland eventually grew. Meanwhile Alexander of Parma was steadily recovering the southern provinces; the final blow to the prince's hopes that a general union might be restored was delivered by the fall of Maestricht. Three years before, this town had been delivered to the furies of massacre and plunder; it now offered a heroic defence, and Parma's 30,000 besiegers were repeatedly repulsed with heavy loss. When at length the exhausted garrison succumbed to a night assault, the town was given over to a three-days' massacre, and the conquerors left it a deserted ruin. The blow to the prestige of the prince was severe; he was reproached

for his failure to achieve the impossible by relieving the town, and was even accused of treachery. But he continued, amid obloquy and misrepresentation, to work and hope. Philip began to realize the truth that his advisers had continually impressed upon him: there was no prospect that the Netherlands would yield while the prince of Orange was alive; on 15 March, 1580, Philip therefore issued his famous ban. This document enlarged upon the beneficence of the Spanish rule, represented the prince as a foreigner who had devoted himself to arousing sedition and strife, as one who had abjured the faith of his fathers and was deaf to all proposals of peace.

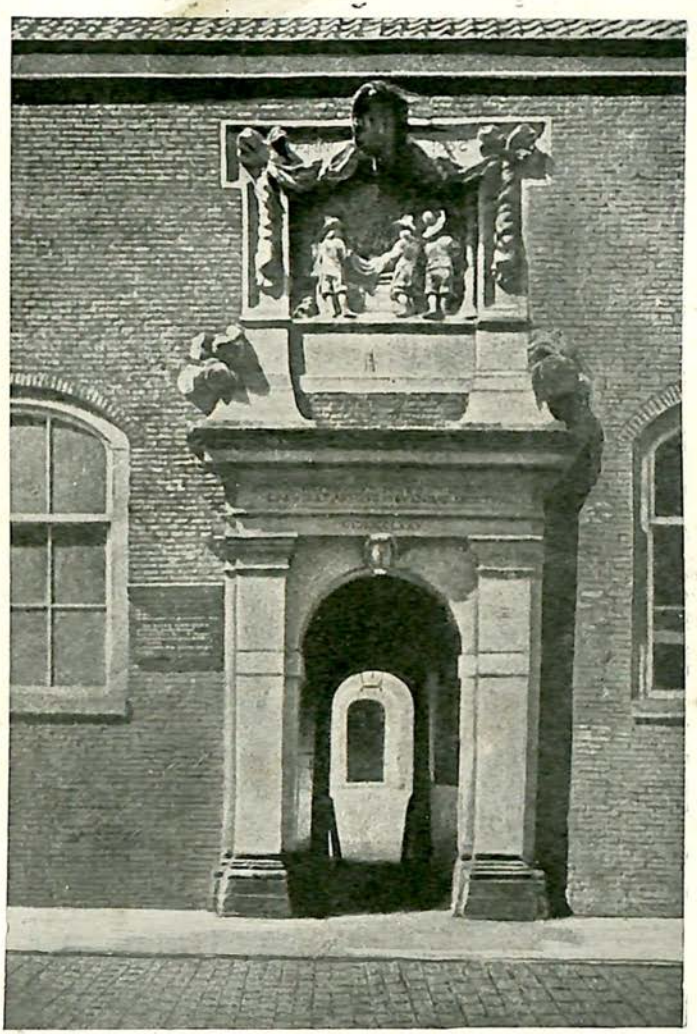
Therefore, for these just reasons . . . we banish him for ever and forbid all our subjects to visit or communicate with him in public or in secret. . . . We declare him an enemy of the human race and in order the sooner to remove our people from his tyranny and oppression, we promise on the word of a king and as God's servant that if one of our subjects be found so generous of heart and so desirous of doing us service and the public good, who has any means of executing this ordinance and ridding us of this said pest, either by delivering him to us quick or dead, or by depriving him at once of life in any way, we will give him or his heirs landed estate or cash at his desire to the amount of 20,000 golden crowns. If he has committed any crime, we will pardon him; if he be not noble, we will ennoble him for his valour, and if the principal takes other persons for his assistance in his enterprise, we will reward them according to the service rendered, pardon their crimes and ennoble them also.

The reply published by the prince is known as his *Apology*. It is a vigorous and vehement defence of his conduct, and accusation of Philip, whose sensations, if he ever read it, were probably far from complacent. No such outspoken analysis of his character had ever reached the ears of the public. The crimes imputed to him are set down as facts, and rumour is sometimes treated as history. But the States-General which assembled at Delft in December, 1580, regarded the *Apology* as a fair statement of facts, and expressed their full confidence in the prince. The *Apology* was widely circulated, and made the breach with Spain irreparable. The publication of the ban had been opposed by Parma, who considered that the offer of a reward would arouse sympathy with the prince. His anticipations were realized; the states regarded the ban as an insult to themselves, and on 26 July, 1581, they declared the independence of their country. This was a remarkable act at such a period of European history: the divine right of kings was set aside, a contract between ruler and people was assumed, and Philip was rejected for failure to fulfil his obligations.

All men know that God appoints a king to cherish his people as a shepherd his flock. When he grinds down his people, overthrows their ancient liberties and treats them as slaves he is no prince but a tyrant. Then may the estates of the land renounce him and put another in his place.

The prince knew that some official protector must be found in place

The Staircase



The Entrance

HOUSE AT DELFT IN WHICH WILLIAM THE SILENT WAS ASSASSINATED

of Philip, and he again risked his reputation by urging the states to accept the duke of Anjou. He still hoped that the Protestant north and the Catholic south might discover some *modus vivendi* which would enable them to make head in conjunction against the common foe, and he knew that they would never accept himself as their ruler for religious reasons. In 1582 Anjou was installed at Antwerp as duke of Brabant, amid much magnificence: it was understood, however, that his authority over Holland and Zeeland was purely nominal. A month after this event the first attempt to assassinate the prince of Orange was made: a murderer shot him through the cheek and neck; the prince escaped by a miracle. Enquiry showed that the reward offered by Philip had prompted the deed, and the prince realized that he was likely to be the object of similar attacks henceforward. His wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, died of shock and of the strain imposed by nursing the prince to recovery from his dangerous wound. It had been a singularly happy marriage, though politically unproductive of help to the prince. But if he had offended his German friends by marrying Charlotte, and had received no support from her French connections, he had at least found a true helpmeet.

Anjou was a false and cowardly character, and the prince of Orange had supported him only in the hope that his appointment might provide a common basis upon which some semblance of unity could be founded. Anjou devised a plan to seize Antwerp and the prince's person, and to make himself supreme throughout the land. His *coup de main* was an utter failure; when his French troops dashed into the town they found the citizens alert, prepared for defence, and experienced in street fighting. The "French Fury", as the attempt was called, was remarkable only for the treachery which instigated it. The prince hastened to the spot and attempted to pacify the Antwerpers, declaring that the outbreak was due to a misunderstanding. Anjou eventually retired to France, and began futile intrigues with Parma until his death, which occurred shortly afterwards. Orange obstinately clung to his idea of a French alliance, and if his policy seemed perverse it was clearly devoid of any personal ambition. In 1583, about a year after Charlotte's death, he married his fourth wife, Louise de Coligny, a daughter of the famous admiral who had fallen in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Through her only son, Frederick Henry, the name and title of William the Silent passed to William III of England. It was not a brilliant marriage: the prince was overwhelmed with debt in addition to his many anxieties, and was often in want of the necessities of life. But within his residence at Delft he was able to enjoy the pleasures of family life and to gain some sense of security and repose.

It was of but short duration. Another assassin was forthcoming, one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian, fanatically Catholic, and desirous to strike rather for religious glory than for temporal reward. He was an insignificant, mean-looking figure, and the prince of Parma did not think him likely to succeed; at any rate he refused to advance

him any money, being probably weary of interviews with would-be cutthroats. He succeeded in making his way into the prince's residence with the help of stolen credentials and a story of persecution for his devotion to the Calvinist faith; the prince gave him twelve crowns, and with these he bought pistols in preparation for his purpose. On 10 July, 1584, he waited on the staircase, and as the prince left his room after dinner Gerard fired a pistol loaded with three bullets at point-blank range into the prince's breast. The prince sank down, murmuring: "My God, have pity on my soul and on this poor people", and expired in a few moments. The murderer attempted to escape, but was caught; for four days he lived amid every revolting torture that human barbarity could devise, and displayed a constancy and a fortitude which aroused the wonder of his tormentors. The prince was buried in the New Church in Delft amid general mourning: the little children wept in the streets as the body passed by.

William's idea that the Dutch and Belgian races might live under a union was impossible of fulfilment; a few years after his death, Parma had recovered the southern provinces for Spain; Catholic and Ultramontanist they have remained, and the racial line of demarcation which Julius Cæsar observed is still so far perceptible. But while striving for the impossible, William achieved the actual: he enabled the northern provinces to grow strong and confident in their Protestantism; he showed the southern provinces that they need not necessarily become Spanish dependencies. He was led to espouse his purpose by his large-minded spirit of toleration, a spirit in advance of his age: dogmatic differences seemed to him to be non-essentials, and he could not understand why people could not believe without desiring to impose their beliefs upon their neighbours. He was a diplomatist rather than a soldier: if his relief of Leyden was a brilliant piece of work, his military schemes were often ill-conceived and lamely executed. But his indomitable perseverance amid humiliation and defeat became an example to posterity: that a free republic could be founded in defiance of a foreign oppressor was a new contribution to the history of liberty; it was an act that shook the theory of the divine right of kings, and inspired the Puritan revolution in England and the struggle for independence in America.

CHAPTER VI

Henry of Navarre (A.D. 1555–1610)

In France, as almost everywhere else, the way for the Reformation was paved by the Renaissance. A succession of Italian wars begun by Charles VIII continued until the reign of Henry II, and brought the French into contact with the new intellectual life and the contagious enthusiasm for learning which had grown vigorous beyond the Alps. Art and architecture were transformed under this new influence, splendid châteaux took the place of gloomy feudal castles, while Rabelais strikes a note in French literature that only the Renaissance made possible. Though the progress of letters and the widened interest in men and affairs naturally paved the way for the spirit of the new doctrines, it must also be noted that France had begun the Reformation movement before Luther posted his ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg. Five years before that date Jacques Lefèvre, a lecturer on theology at Paris, had published a commentary on St. Paul's *Epistles* in which he taught the doctrine of justification by faith. Outside the ranks of scholars there were also men who desired to see the Church reform herself from within, and the movement thus begun from two sides received a further impulse from the work of Luther in Germany. In 1521 the Sorbonne solemnly condemned Luther's writings, but persecution proper did not begin until after the battle of Pavia. Heretics in France were tried before the ordinary courts of justice as guilty of an offence against the common law; the courts, however, did not profess to be theological tribunals, and left the University to decide what was heresy and what was not. In June, 1528, an iconoclastic outrage upon the image of the Virgin in Paris caused a great uproar. Francis, who was opposed to active persecution, then gave way to the fanatical party, and for the remainder of his reign and during that of Henry II the French reformers were obliged to struggle and endure. As Lutherans they would probably have failed to exist, but in Calvin they found a leader, and in Geneva a centre and a citadel of refuge. Calvinism borrowed from Luther the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith for those who are elected by grace. Hence Calvin deduced the further statement that those predestined to salvation by the certain foreknowledge of God must necessarily be saved. Apart from this difference between Calvin and Luther, the Genevan Protestants insisted upon a more strict and democratic system of Church government than any which Luther evolved. Lutherans regarded the Church as independent of

the state, and as possessing an authority above that of the state. Calvin went further still. He not only insisted that the Church should be independent, but that its affairs should also be conducted by its ministers and by selected representatives from the congregation. Hence in France the Calvinists were prepared to oppose despotism and champion popular government.

When Francis I had begun the work of persecution he carried it on with a vigour which was continued by his son, Henry II. Edicts were issued in 1551 and 1557 depriving all convicted of heresy of any right of appeal, and pronouncing capital punishment as the doom of those who spoke against the orthodox doctrines in public or private. The French martyrs showed the most admirable constancy amid the most fearful suffering, and to their heroism, no doubt, was due the rapid increase in the numbers of their converts. Of these the great majority belonged to the middle class, but the privileged upper classes were also well represented, and the knowledge that their opinions found favour in higher circles gave the French reformers a courage and an outspokenness unusual in a persecuted sect. Upon the whole the south was the chief centre of the reform doctrines, and converts are said to have numbered about a million and a half at the time of the death of Henry II.

The accession of Francis II produced no remission in their persecution. He was but sixteen years of age, mentally and physically a weakling, and had just been married to the fascinating and beautiful Mary Stuart of Scotland at the time when he came to the throne. She ruled her husband and was herself ruled by her uncles, and the real power behind the throne belonged to the powerful heads of the family of Guise, while much influence was exerted by Catherine de' Medici, who regulated her principles of government upon the maxims of Machiavelli. For her own purposes she attempted to hold the balance between the two religious parties, apparently having no religious convictions of her own, and with such ill success that she made France miserable for three successive reigns of her sons, and was the ultimate downfall of her dynasty. Francis, duke of Guise, was highly popular for his military success, and especially for his capture of Calais from the English in 1558; while his brother, Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, was as anxious to become Pope as Francis was to become king. On the other side were the Bourbon princes, Anthony, king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé, who, after the brothers of Francis II, were heirs to the throne. Anthony supported the Protestants, not from conviction but because he saw a means of opposing the Guises. The most devoted and strongest adherent of the Protestants was Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France, a most attractive figure, and one of the most heroic in the confusion of the times. In the spring of 1560 the famous conspiracy of Amboise was hatched by those who, for religious or political reasons, opposed the power of the Guises. These "Mayors of the Palace" were to be arrested and imprisoned, the king's person was to be seized, and the prince of

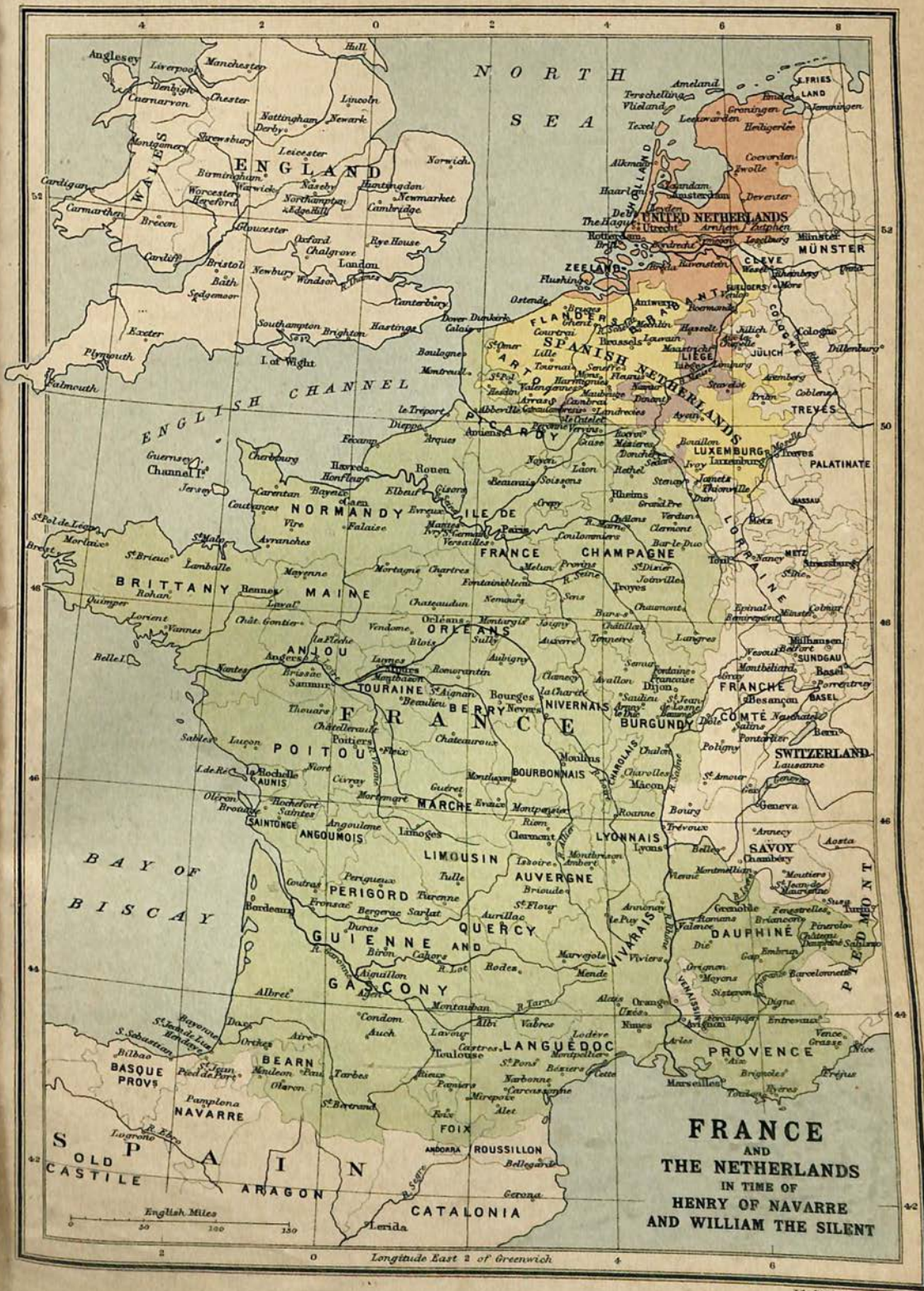
Condé to be placed at the head of the Government. The plot was revealed, and further persecution of the Protestants broke out. The Guises summoned a meeting of the States-General, and expected to find so many supporters of their ideas that they would be able to demand an orthodox confession of faith from every sitting member. Those who refused to subscribe, that is, the Protestants, would at once be subjected to prosecution for heresy. The assertion of the religious orthodoxy of the Guises thus pronounced by the States-General would be, at the same time, a confirmation of their political power.

The death of Francis II in 1560 saved the lives of Condé and his brother, while Mary Stuart went to Scotland and met her tragic fate during Elizabeth's reign. Charles IX, the successor, was barely eleven years of age, and the regent could only be the queen-mother or the first prince of the blood, in this case the king of Navarré. The latter, however, had promised Catherine de' Medici that he would not claim the regency in the event of the king's death, if she on her side would protect him against the Guises. When the States-General met, Catherine was in possession of the regency, and the meeting showed a majority of those opposed to the Guises. Catherine gave the Bourbon princes places in the Government and granted a limited amount of toleration to the Huguenots,[1] which, at any rate, put an end to the persecution. These concessions angered the Guises, and the duke himself violated the Edict of Toleration by massacring a company of Huguenots assembled for worship at a small place called Vassy. The Huguenots demanded that those responsible for this outrage should be punished. Anthony of Bourbon had been won over to the Catholic side, and attempted to throw the blame upon the Huguenots. The latter sent Theodore Beza, their most eminent divine, to plead their cause before the queen. Condé offered to raise 50,000 men to maintain the king's authority in this matter, whereupon the king of Navarre, the inconstant Anthony, began to reproach Beza with stirring up civil strife, to which the divine replied with the famous words: "Sire, it is true that it is the lot of the Church of God to endure blows rather than to give them. But may it also please you to remember that it is an anvil upon which many hammers have been broken." Condé was compelled to leave Paris, and with some persuasion he induced Coligny to join him. The civil war now began which was to desolate France for forty years, Elizabeth of England supporting the Huguenots and Philip II of Spain helping the Catholics. The ferocity displayed on either side in the encounters often befitted pagans rather than Christians. Many members of both parties were stirred rather by political convictions than religious interests. Sieges, battles, truces, conspiracies, and assassinations occurred in dreary

[1] This name came into prominence at the time of the conspiracy of Amboise. The word is supposed to be a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, "confederates, bound by an oath". It was applied by the Swiss to themselves; Frenchmen regarded it as synonymous with Swiss, and it was probably used as a term of contempt for those French heretics who sought refuge in Switzerland from persecution.

succession. Anthony of Bourbon fell in battle before Rouen in 1562. In the next year Francis, the second duke of Guise, was assassinated. In 1569 the prince of Condé was treacherously murdered after he had surrendered in the skirmish known as the battle of Jarnac. Meanwhile Henry of Navarre was growing towards man's estate.

Anthony of Bourbon had married Jane d'Albret, daughter of Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, and of Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I. In the Middle Ages the kingdom of Navarre had embraced a wide stretch of territory upon the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, but under Henry d'Albret a few leagues of territory upon the French side represented the remnant of the once famous principality. Its ruler, however, remained a sovereign monarch, and paid homage neither to France nor to Spain, while his several fiefs, of which Béarn was the most important, provided him with some wealth and power. Henry would have wished to marry Jane to Philip II of Spain, but Francis I had no intention of allowing Spain to secure a footing upon his side of the Pyrenees, and after the accession of Henry II the court supported Anthony of Bourbon's proposals for her hand, and their marriage took place in 1548. They had three sons, of whom Henry of Bourbon was the last born; his two elder brothers died in infancy through the ignorance or carelessness of their nurses. Henry was born on 13 December, 1555, and was brought up by his grandfather's directions in the keenest and most bracing air that his dominions afforded, allowed to run barefoot, and to join in the sports of the village lads. On the death of his grandfather his parents went to the French court, but made no long stay, and, returning to Béarn, began the education of their son. Theodore Beza had been sent, by Anthony's invitation, to instruct the family in the doctrines of Calvin. Jane did not give in her adherence to this teaching until 1560; she was slow to move but tenacious of belief when gained. Henry does not seem to have been a very brilliant pupil. Of a restless, energetic temperament, a sedentary occupation was hateful to him from his earliest youth. In later years it is recorded that he would exhaust his attendants with a long day's hunting, and, when they were scarcely able to move, would insist himself upon playing tennis or dancing. Anthony, as we have seen, was won over to the Catholic side by the Guises and Spain, whereupon Jane, deeply vexed by her husband's fickleness, retired to her own inheritance, while Anthony kept his son with him at court. When he fell before Rouen, Catherine de' Medici, in fear of the power of the Guises, was anxious to conciliate the Huguenots, and therefore allowed Jane to recall her son. But she was also anxious to retain her influence over a boy who was the heir to great possessions and the head of the house of Bourbon. Through Charles IX an invitation was accordingly issued urgently requesting him to return to court. The queen of Navarre, though she disliked the prospect, thought it would be impolitic to refuse, and in 1564–5 the prince made a long tour through France. In 1566


NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
ENGLAND
WALES
Anglesey
Liverpool
Manchester
Hull
Denbigh
Caernarvon
Chester
Lincoln
Nottingham
Newark
Derby
Shrewsbury
Montgomery
Leicester
Norwich
Birmingham
Warwick
Naseby
Huntingdon
Worcester
Hereford
Newmarket
Northampton
Edge Hill
Cambridge
Cardigan
Carmarthen
Brecon
Gloucester
Oxford
Rye House
Cardiff
Bristol
Chalgrove
London
Newbury
Windsor
Thames
Bath
Sedgemoor
Canterbury
Exeter
Southampton
Brighton
Hastings
Dover
Dunkirk
Calais
Plymouth
I. of Wight
Falmouth
Boulogne
Montreuil
Guernsey
Channel Is.
Jersey
Cherbourg
Harfleur
Honfleur
Rouen
Caen
Elbeuf
Carentan
Bayeux
Coutances
NORMANDY
Vire
Falaise
Evreux
ILE DE FRANCE
Mantes
Pontoise
Paris
Versailles
Dieppe
Fecamp
Arques
le Treport
Abbeville
Amiens
PICARDY
Ostende
Bruges
Ypres
Courtrai
Lille
Tournai
Douai
Arras
Valenciennes
Cambrai
Landrecies
Le Catelet
Guise
Vervins
Bapaume
Peronne
Montdidier
Roye
Compiegne
Soissons
Noyon
Laon
Rethel
Sedan
Mezieres
Donchery
Stenay
Ivoy
Luxemburg
Thionville
Metz
Longwy
Montmedy
Verdun
Clermont
Grand Pre
Rhetel
Rheims
Epernay
Chalons
Vitry
Bar-le-Duc
Toul
Nancy
Pont a Mousson
Luneville
Strasburg
Saverne
Phalsburg
Landau
Weissenburg
Hagenau
Zabern
Brisach
Colmar
Schlettstadt
Rosheim
Molsheim
Schelestadt
Benfeld
Erstein
Barr
Obernai
Rhinau
Selz
Hagenbach
Germersheim
Worms
Spires
Manheim
Heidelberg
Philipsburg
Frankenthal
Oppenheim
Mayence
Bingen
Creutznach
Kreutznach
Simmern
Kirchberg
Trarbach
Zell
Coblentz
Andernach
Bonn
Cologne
Juliers
Dusseldorf
Elberfeld
Lennep
Siegen
Altenkirchen
Hachenburg
Limburg
Wetzlar
Giessen
Marburg
Frankfort
Hanau
Aschaffenburg
Darmstadt
Offenbach
Mannheim
Wimpfen
Heilbronn
Hall
Gmund
Ellwangen
Aalen
Nordlingen
Donauwerth
Ingolstadt
Ratisbon
Landshut
Munich
Augsburg
Ulm
Memmingen
Kempten
Lindau
Constance
Schaffhausen
Zurich
Winterthur
Basel
Porrentruy
Delemont
Soleure
Berne
Fribourg
Lausanne
Geneva
Thun
Interlaken
Brienz
Sion
Martigny
Aosta
Chambery
Annecy
Moutiers
St. Jean de Maurienne
Grenoble
Briancon
Fenestrelles
Pignerol
Suza
Turin
Susa
Embrun
Gap
Barcelonette
Digne
Sisteron
Orgon
Moyens
Entrevaux
Grasse
Venice
Nice
Frejus
Toulon
Hyeres
Marseilles
Aix
Arles
Avignon
Orange
Nismes
Montpellier
Cette
Beziers
Narbonne
Carcassone
Mirepoix
Pamiers
Foix
Alet
Lodeve
Vabres
Albi
Castres
Toulouse
St. Pons
Lavaur
Auch
Condom
Agen
Aiguillon
Nerac
Albret
Mont Auban
Alais
Rodez
Mende
Marvejols
Viviers
Le Puy
Aurillac
Briude
Tulle
Perigueux
Brantome
Sarlat
Bergerac
Eymet
Duras
Bordeaux
Blaye
Libourne
Cognac
Angouleme
Limoges
Rochefort
Saintes
Oleron
Broue
Rochelle
Aunis
Marans
Niort
Fontenay
Lucon
Sables
Chatellerault
Poitiers
Chatelleraud
Loudun
Thouars
Saumur
Montreuil Bellay
Beaulieu
Chinon
Loches
Tours
Amboise
Blois
Vendome
Chateaudun
Nogent le Roi
Dreux
Montargis
Orleans
Gien
Sully
Auxerre
Tonnerre
Joigny
Sens
Nemours
Fontainebleau
Melun
Provins
Nogent sur Seine
Bray
Chartres
Mortagne
Alencon
Falaise
Argentan
Exmes
Lisieux
Pont l'Eveque
Honfleur
Caen
Bayeux
Carentan
Coutances
Vire
Avranches
St. Malo
St. Brieuc
Lamballe
Morlaix
St. Pol de Leon
Brest
Quimper
Rohan
Lorient
Chat. Gontier
Vannes
Belle I.
Laval
Mayenne
Rennes
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
Angers
Saumur
Nantes
Briosac
Lames
Amboise
Montbason
Romorantin
Aubigny
Clamecy
Avallon
Vezelay
Semur
Fontaine Francoise
Dijon
Saulieu
Arnay le Duc
Beaune
Nolay
Autun
Chalon
Tournus
Macon
Charolles
Bourbon Lancy
Moulins
Nevers
Cosne
Gien
Montargis
Chatillon
Langres
Bar-sur-Aube
Joinville
Vitry
Chaumont
Bourbonne
Epinal
Remiremont
Vesoul
Montbeliard
Gray
Dole
Salins
Poligny
Pontarlier
Neufchatel
Besancon
Porrentruy
Basel
Mulhausen
Thann
Sundgau
Colmar
Schlettstadt
Obernai

Henry was allowed to return to his mother, and for the next two years, under her watchful eye, he lived a hardy outdoor life, learning endurance and skill in hunting, with fencing, tennis, and the other accomplishments of a gentleman. More opposite sets of impressions than he had received could scarcely be conceived. He had known the gay and dissolute life of the Tuileries and the Louvre, with its crowds of Italian adventurers, intriguing priests, and unscrupulous statesmen; he had also known his coreligionists, with whom he had learnt to realize the simplicity of their lives and the strength of their convictions.

In 1570 that division of the religious wars which is sometimes known as the Third War was ended by the Peace of St. Germain, which gave freedom of worship to the Protestants, removed all civil and military disabilities, and left four important fortresses in their hands for three years, one of which was La Rochelle. Henry's mother and the Protestant leaders remained in this latter fortress to see whether the court proposed to carry out the provisions of the peace. An assurance was received that this would be the case, and the queen also received an intimation that Charles IX would be glad to consider a marriage proposal between Henry of Bourbon and his sister. Outbreaks against the Protestants were suppressed by the Government with exemplary severity, Coligny was invited to court, and, being persuaded of the king's sincerity in his intentions, he urged Queen Jane of Navarre to bring her son in person and herself to conclude the negotiations in progress for his marriage with Margaret of Valois. Jane cared neither for the proposal nor for the marriage; she feared that court life would corrupt her son's ardent nature, or that he would be induced to join the Catholic ranks. However, she gave way. Margaret proved, on inspection, to be a sensible young lady with considerable influence over the other members of her family. She was, as a matter of fact, a singularly clever woman, fond of reading, and capable of writing with much literary taste. But she had been brought up in a detestably vicious school; her morals, like those of the court in which she had lived, were little better than the morals of the poultry-yard, and she indulged her love of eating and drinking, in later years, to such an extent that her bulk became positively elephantine. The union was a mistake; there was no love on either side and there were no children, and to its unfortunate influence are largely due the many moral lapses of which Henry was guilty in later years. The marriage took place on 18 August, 1572, Henry and his Protestants standing aloof while the bride heard mass in the cathedral. But it seemed no time for marriage rejoicings; there were ominous portents that the storm of civil war was about to break once more.

At this moment continual communication was in progress between the Protestants of France, England, and the Netherlands. The Netherlands were anxious to see Charles IX declare himself for Protestantism in the struggle against Spain, and their chief supporter in these negotiations was Coligny. Whether he or Catherine were to be predominant

in their influence over the king would decide the question whether France should go to war with Spain and help the long-suffering William the Silent. The king's hatred of Spain was profound, and the Huguenots were in favour at court. On the other hand, the queen mother was inclined to listen to those counsellors who pointed out that the war would be divided, that many Catholics would join the Spanish forces, that the recent struggles had emptied the treasury, and that without an offensive and defensive alliance with England there could be no prospect of success. At the general council held in 1555 Charles IX yielded to these representations, but the fact remains that if William the Silent and his confederates had been more successful in the Low Countries, and if Elizabeth of England had been willing to declare definitely for their cause, Coligny and his party would have gained the upper hand. As it happened, they failed, and Catherine, fearing that the failure would be hers, resolved upon the murder of the admiral, and proposed to throw the blame upon the Guises and their following. If the Huguenot party then went to war with the Guise faction, France could not fail to derive advantage. The assassination was therefore prearranged, but Coligny was only wounded. He complained to the king, and asked permission for his followers, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to leave the town, as their lives were apparently in danger. Charles declared that he would avenge this outrage, and sent a detachment of his own guards to protect the admiral and the other leading Huguenots. Persuaded of the king's good faith, they proposed to appear at court in a body and accuse the duke of Guise of this attempted murder. He was not likely to deny it, and Catherine felt that the anger of the king and the fury of the Protestants would be turned upon herself. She therefore sought an audience of the king, represented the dangerous turbulence of the Huguenots, the discontent of the Catholics, and the probability that they would form a league of their own if the king did not listen to them. She hinted that the Huguenots had formed a plot for the destruction of the whole Catholic party, and that the ruin of the royal family would be involved in this outbreak. The weak-minded king, after nearly two hours of argument, was at length stung to fury by the imputation that he was too timid to act. "By God's death," he cried in his frenzy, "since you insist that the admiral must die, I consent; but with him every Huguenot in France must perish, that not one may remain to reproach me with his death; and what you do, see that it be done quickly." The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day began a little after midnight on 24 August, 1572, and continued for three days and nights. One of the first victims was Coligny himself. His assassins threw his body into the street, that the duke of Guise might satisfy himself of his enemy's death. The Protestant nobles sleeping in the palace at the king's invitation, and professedly under the protection of his guards, were summoned one by one and butchered before his eyes. A carnival of slaughter then began throughout the town. Catholic tradesmen murdered their Protestant competitors, courtiers murdered their debtors, office-seekers killed their

opponents; the scum of Paris, and no slums in Europe could produce worse offscourings, displayed a ferocity which was scarcely human. At least 2000 Protestants perished, including the flower of the Huguenot nobility. So completely were they taken by surprise that resistance there was none. Orders were issued for other towns in France to purge themselves in the same way; and upon a smaller scale, but with no less atrocity, these horrors were repeated in Orleans, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and other places. The estimates of the number murdered vary widely, but probably some 20,000 perished. The act was regarded with universal execration by every civilized country except Rome and Spain, and nowhere did the blow cause a more crushing seizure of despair than in the Netherlands. Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé were allowed to escape. Deprived of their followers their influence would be negligible, and the murder of a prince of the blood was more even than Catherine ventured to undertake. They were summoned to the king's presence and informed that he would henceforward tolerate no religion within his dominions except Catholicism. They would, however, be pardoned if they agreed to become Catholics, and were dismissed with threats of imprisonment and death in the event of their obstinacy. After some weeks they gave way, and Henry was now a nominal prisoner at the most profligate and intriguing court in Europe, though to her credit be it said that his wife declined a proposal for divorce, and set herself loyally to help him.

The massacre did not break the resistance of the Huguenot party. They had lost the majority of their leaders, but the popular element proved capable and spirited. Books and pamphlets poured into the country proving that the king had betrayed his trust, and that his people were therefore absolved from their allegiance. Montauban, Sancerre, and La Rochelle prepared for resistance, and refused to receive the royal garrisons. The Government resolved to attack La Rochelle, the most important Huguenot stronghold, whence the Protestants could maintain communication with their friends in England and the Netherlands and prey upon Spanish commerce at their will. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were forced to show the fact of their conversion by serving in the army during the siege of La Rochelle, which operation cost the Catholics the lives of some 20,000 men and a large number of distinguished officers. In 1573 the court was obliged to make terms with the besieged. The Huguenots of Languedoc and Guienne then formed a kind of federal government, and demanded toleration and security from the king, while fortresses were to be placed in their hands as a pledge of his good faith. But Charles IX had suffered remorse from the day of the massacre, his insanity became more pronounced, horrible visions disturbed his rest, and in 1574 he died, rejoicing, as he said, that he left no heir to inherit his kingdom and his crimes.

Accordingly, in 1574, Henry III came to the throne. Queen Catherine was able to secure his accession without opposition. Henry

of Navarre remained at Paris a prisoner in all but name, and his place as leader of the Huguenot party was taken by the duke of Alençon, who succeeded in escaping from Paris. Feeling that his own position in Paris was insecure, Henry proposed to escape towards the end of January, 1576; his friends were to collect a force and put him in possession of Cherbourg and other important towns. The rising had been arranged for the middle of February, but early in that month Henry was informed that the plot had been revealed to the king, and made his escape without delay. Meanwhile Condé had raised a German force, was ravaging the border districts, and threatened to invade the country. Catherine and her son had no desire for a regular war at that moment, and the result of negotiations was the Peace of Monsieur, which was concluded in February, 1576, upon terms extremely favourable to the Protestants. They were guaranteed freedom of worship throughout the kingdom except at Paris, and equal representation in the law courts with the Catholics. The massacre of St Bartholomew was disavowed, and the property of those who had perished was to be restored to their heirs. The result was great irritation among the whole-hearted Catholics; possibly Henry III expected that a violent reaction would occur, and that he would thus be relieved of any obligation to execute the provisions of the treaty. If such were his calculations they were not falsified, and the result was the formation of the Holy League, an association of extreme Catholics throughout the kingdom under the leadership of the third duke of Guise, ostensibly intended to restore Roman Catholicism throughout France and to confine the succession to the house of Valois, while the members undertook to punish any who withdrew from the league, and to defend one another even against the king, should he attempt to oppose their objects. This was an anti-monarchical association, and the king now found himself obliged to hold the balance between the league on the one hand and the Huguenots on the other, a task in which he signally failed. His ideas of diplomacy were confined to pettifogging intrigues, while his extravagance and indecent debauchery discredited any good intentions that he may have had.

Meanwhile Henry of Navarre had been readmitted into the Calvinist communion. He made a public profession of his faith at La Rochelle, and travelled through Guienne to his hereditary possessions in the south. He clearly understood that the recent peace was nothing more than a temporary armistice, and that he must make preparations to resist the coming storm if he and his party were to survive. At this time we find two young men at his side who accompanied him during the rest of his career, and without whose help he would often have been in severe straits. Of these the more competent, though not the more famous, was Philip de Mornay, a scholar, soldier, and statesman, who had travelled far, and would have been sent by Coligny as ambassador to the Netherlands had not the massacre of St. Bartholomew overthrown these plans. De Mornay then escaped to England,

HENRY IV, KING OF NAVARRE AND OF FRANCE

From the painting by Frans Pourbus the younger in the Louvre, Paris

and was warmly welcomed at Elizabeth's court. On the conclusion of the Peace of Monsieur he joined the king of Navarre, and his intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of foreign diplomacy proved invaluable. The nobility of his character and his statesman-like qualities contrast favourably with the reputation of Maximilian de Béthune, baron of Rosny, and better known as the duke of Sully. This latter was an excellent man of business and a desperate warrior in a battle, of tenacious and persevering character, with a great capacity for organization. On the other hand, he was far from disinterested, and his reforms of abuses and peculations often served only to put money in his own purse. Hostilities, as the king of Navarre had expected, again broke out, but were concluded, for the time being, by the Peace of Bergerac in 1577, under which Protestant worship was to be allowed in the towns held by the confederates, while the Protestants were to hold eight fortresses for six years, garrisoned at the king's expense. Secret leagues and associations were forbidden. In short, Henry III was willing to remain on good terms with the Protestants, and began to consider that he, as much as they, had reason to join in opposition to Spain and the Guises. However, the terms of the treaty were not carried out, and in 1580 the king of Navarre resumed hostilities, in which, if Henry gained no great success, he at any rate impressed his co-religionists and his party by the display of that impetuous and fiery valour which made him popular as a leader with members of both parties. The capture of Cahors was a desperate enterprise, the success of which established his reputation. The war, if it can be so called, was ended by the Peace of Fleix in 1580. Henry III's finances were in a deplorable condition, and the country was ravaged by a virulent plague.

A renewal of the civil war was inevitable. France was not likely to submit, as a whole, to the rule of a Calvinist king, and Henry of Navarre was the next heir to the throne. Spain, moreover, was ready to foment discord. The war with England was obviously drawing nearer, and the long struggle with the Netherlands seemed likely to end with the collapse of the movement which William of Orange had so patiently sustained. If France should send help in that direction, Spain would be confronted by a new series of embarrassments. Parma, who was anxious to be left undisturbed while he conducted the siege of Antwerp, joined Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, in urging the league to take action. In 1585 a treaty was signed between them and the Spanish representatives, agreeing that, in the event of the death of Henry III, the cardinal of Bourbon should be placed upon the throne. The king of Spain also promised subsidies and definite help. At the same time the league was largely recruited in Paris, which town became its headquarters. A furious propaganda was carried on in pulpits and public places, asserting the danger of a Huguenot attack, while arms were bought and the adherents of the league exercised in the use of them. The leaders then published a manifesto declaring their intention of restoring the dignity of the

Church, driving unworthy favourites from the court, and restoring Catholicism throughout France.

This was an open defiance of the king's authority, and the king of Navarre was quite prepared to support Henry III with his own small but capable army should he desire to appeal to arms. Henry, however, hesitated. He urged Navarre to be on his guard, a warning, under the circumstances, hardly necessary. Though the numbers of the Huguenots had increased since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they were no longer the strong and united party that they had then been. The duke of Parma had succeeded in taking Antwerp, and would therefore be able to turn his forces against France unless Holland and Zeeland were able to keep him occupied, a far from likely prospect. The war between the league and the Huguenots was carried on during 1585 and 1586 in a somewhat desultory manner. The Protestants were able to hold their own, and the king of Navarre succeeded in enlisting 10,000 Protestant Swiss and a large body of German mercenaries. These formed a force of some 30,000 men, who marched to the Loire and there joined the king of Navarre. Then began the war of the Three Henrys, in which Henry III took the field against the Huguenots, and in which, in 1581, the latter won their first great victory for twenty-five years at the battle of Coutras. The foreign mercenaries were defeated in detail almost before they arrived, and the campaign therefore ended in no definite result, except that the Huguenots gained confidence from the victory which they had won unaided, while Henry III and Guise quarrelled in consequence of the fact that the latter received the credit of repulsing the foreign mercenaries. The king's unpopularity in Paris surprised even himself. The league actually formed a plot to seize his person, and this was done with the full countenance of Spain, which was about to send the invincible Armada against England and embark Parma's forces in the Netherlands. It was an indispensable condition for the safety of this manœuvre that French interference should be out of the question. The Spanish ambassador urged that the league should compel the king to pronounce himself in favour of the full Catholic programme or else deprive him of the power. Barricades were raised in Paris, and the 6000 Swiss troops were furiously attacked. Henry was forced to leave the capital, and when the Estates met at Blois in the autumn of 1588 he offered the fullest concessions to the league party: the cardinal of Bourbon was to be recognized as a prince of the blood, while the king of Navarre, as a relapsed heretic, was declared to have forfeited his right to the succession. But his opponents were not satisfied with this depth of humiliation; they even proposed to carry him back to Paris and govern the kingdom in his name. The king was no patient character; capable of violent explosions and constant fits of animosity, he turned savagely at bay. He assassinated the duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal. The man who had spurned the body of Coligny in the streets of Paris was now himself literally trampled under foot by the king.

Henry, however, made the mistake of identifying the individual with the party. He had thought that the removal of Coligny would end the Huguenot movement, and hoped that the murder of Guise would be followed by the dissolution of the league. In each case he was hopelessly mistaken. An extraordinary outburst of grief and fury took place in Paris when the news was made known. Pulpiteers referred to Henry as Ahab, Herod, and Judas, and the doctors of the Sorbonne declared that his crimes released his subjects from their allegiance. The duke of Mayenne, the eldest surviving brother of Guise, took the lead of the league. A large number of towns refused to recognize the authority of the king, and in his straits Henry turned to the Huguenots. A truce was concluded for a year, the king of Navarre undertaking to use his force only in the service of His Majesty, and with his small but capable army he moved towards the Loire. The moderate Catholics were glad to support a policy which meant religious toleration, opposition to the league and to the intrigues of Spain. Every loyal subject felt that the league was a hateful burden to France and the most disgraceful stain upon the name of Frenchmen. It was intolerable that the country should sink into the position of a mere appanage of Spain. Royalists and Protestants came to the armies of the two kings offering their help, a powerful body of Swiss came from the Swiss cantons, and the whole force advanced upon Paris, where a successful resistance was conditional upon help from the king of Spain. At this moment a Burgundian monk, fanatically ignorant and inspired by the patronage and promises of the league, assassinated Henry III, and the house of Valois came to an end.

Henry of Navarre spent the next four years in the struggle to secure his inheritance. He was the leader of a minority, and, moreover, a heretic. His own party had revived the theory that the king derives his power from the consent of the people, and the majority were not of the kind to consent meekly to his occupation of the throne. The same majority also believed that Church and State could not be divided, and that, therefore, the accession of a Huguenot king would imply the enforcement of Protestantism throughout the realm. On the other hand, Henry was a lineal descendant of Saint Louis, though for ten generations none of his male ancestors had occupied the throne. His claim had been recognized by the dying Henry III, who had commanded his nobles to recognize his accession. Henry signed a declaration undertaking to maintain the Catholic faith free from innovation or restriction, and to submit to the instruction of a general council within six months; during that time he was not to appoint any Protestants to vacant offices or to give the Huguenots any privileges to which they were not already entitled by former treaties, on which conditions the Catholic nobles professed their readiness to recognize him as king. But the Royalist army consistently diminished, while the forces of the league increased. Henry IV, moreover, was in sore straits from want of money, and his supporters began to think that he must retire south of the Loire or seek a refuge in England. On the

other hand, his opponents were by no means united. To begin with, they were dependent upon Spain, and therefore subservient to Philip II, which fact alienated many who might have joined their standard. The democracy, which was their strongest support, desired, in many cases, merely to secure independence for provincial towns and the re-establishment of Catholic orthodoxy; for the private interests of the Guises they cared nothing whatever. Moreover, the Guises themselves were at variance. The duke of Mayenne, the new leader of the league, was especially jealous of his nephew, the young duke of Guise; nor had he any definite policy before him: if he succeeded in excluding Henry IV he could not hope to obtain the crown himself, while an attempt to solve this difficulty by proclaiming the old cardinal of Bourbon king merely recognized the legitimacy of Henry's own family, and placed as his rival on the throne an imbecile dotard who was a prisoner in the hands of his nephew. The struggle was really protracted by the intervention of Spain and by want of loyalty among Henry's own supporters. Moreover, France had been brought so low by forty years of religious wars that neither men nor resources were forthcoming to provide either party with a definite preponderance.

The condition of the country was indeed appalling. Peasants had abandoned the attempt to sow crops that they were never allowed to reap; those who remained in the villages were found to be feeding upon grass and roots, upon carrion or the flesh of any animals that they could trap, while the children even gnawed the bark of trees. The more vigorous formed bands of robbers, who infested the roads and made travelling difficult and dangerous. Wolves and foxes roamed the village streets, and many parts of the country were entirely depopulated. These misfortunes were protracted by the interference of Spain in French affairs. On the other hand, if that interference prevented Henry from immediately securing his accession, it gave Orange and the Low Countries the opportunity of making head against Parma, who otherwise would have had at his disposal the men and money placed at the service of France.

Henry's first move was made to Normandy. This was the wealthiest province of France, and, moreover, that from which he could most easily maintain communication with England. Elizabeth was very anxious that he should cede Calais as the price of her promised assistance, but Henry declined to part with an inch of French territory, and Elizabeth, with unusual generosity but none the less good sense, supplied the money and men. Dieppe became Henry's headquarters, and from this base of operations he proceeded against Rouen. At the battle of Arques he repulsed the army of the league, and the arrival of English reinforcements at Dieppe immediately after this event enabled him to make good his position. He then advanced upon Paris with an army of 20,000 men, drove the leaguers into the city, and offered them battle before the walls. As no attack was made, he returned to Normandy, and speedily reduced to obedience all the

important towns except Rouen, Havre, and Avranches. He then proceeded to capture the towns upon the Seine, and was thus able to cut off supplies from Paris. In the course of these operations the leaguers, understanding that Paris was lost if some action was not taken, advanced to Ivry, where the battle made famous by Macaulay's ballad was fought. The king had an army of barely 12,000 against the 16,000 of the leaguers. His own horse was broken by the heavy cavalry of the German mercenaries, and he was threatened with the loss of his artillery. But at this moment he plunged into the fight, conspicuous with a great plume of white peacock's feathers. The German cavalry were attempting to struggle through the lines of leaguers and re-form behind them, and threw the ranks of Mayenne into disorder. At that moment Henry charged, and eventually the leaguers' cavalry broke and scattered. Their infantry still stood their ground, but Henry had kept his own cavalry under control, and thus was enabled to seize the enemy's artillery. When he proceeded to turn these guns upon the Swiss and German mercenaries they at once surrendered. Many of the French infantry were also drowned in attempting to cross the flooded river of the Eure, and Henry found his victory complete. Had he ridden straight for Paris he would probably have met with no resistance; but the roads were heavy and in places impassable, his financial resources were at their lowest ebb, and the royalist marshal Biron, whose opinion had great weight with him, and who, for selfish reasons, did not wish Henry to triumph forthwith, advised him to avoid so rash a manœuvre. He therefore resolved to starve the capital into submission, while the leaguers made vigorous preparations for defence. By 24 July, 1590, Paris was closely invested and the inhabitants reduced to extremities of hunger; cannibalism is even said to have been used as a frequent resource. Henry could have assaulted and sacked the town; but his humanity shrank from exposing his capital to such destruction, and while he was momentarily expecting the surrender of the city he suddenly heard that the duke of Parma had left the Netherlands and was marching upon Paris with such forces as the leaguers could raise. Parma's heart was set upon the subjugation of the Netherlands, and he did not wish to risk his army in a pitched battle with Henry's troops; moreover, as a general of consummate skill, he saw his way to relieving Paris with no great loss of life. Entrenching himself in a position near the Marne, he forced Henry to withdraw his troops from the siege, then skilfully conveyed part of his troops across the river, and thus opened communications with Paris and sent in supplies of provisions. But no sooner had he gone than the siege began once more, while the towns in Normandy held by the league were also attacked. In 1591 Havre and Rouen alone held out. Rouen, again, was relieved by an advance made by Parma from the Netherlands. Parma was wounded in the course of a skirmish, outnumbered by Henry's forces, and obliged to retreat. He would have been cut off entirely but for the dilatory counsels of Biron. Eventually he reached Flanders after suffering considerable

loss, and Henry was no longer disturbed by his interference. Elsewhere the war dragged on in all parts of the country, on the whole to the advantage of the royalists, while it became more and more clear to every thinking man that the opposition was only supported by the constant and ready help of Philip II of Spain.

By the autumn of 1592 the moderate Catholics were thoroughly tired of the war, and a large majority proposed to see whether the king of Navarre would abjure his religion and make some arrangements by which provisions might be conveyed to Paris. In January, 1593, the States-General met in the Louvre, and it was obvious that there was a general desire to make peace even among the professed supporters of the league. Their arguments were reinforced by the fact that Henry was in possession of the town of Dreux, which commanded the last remaining road by which supplies could reach Paris. Moreover, it was plain that Henry was quite prepared to accept the Roman Catholic religion. Probably he had looked upon his conversion as inevitable from the moment of his accession. He had no political interest in dogma as such, and, like William the Silent, Cromwell, and many another statesman, he saw no reason why sects should fight so bitterly when they were apparently agreed upon broad and outstanding principles. How far he had been influenced by Elizabeth's attempt in England is impossible to say. She had attempted to establish a Church on a basis sufficiently broad to comprehend both Catholicism and Protestantism, an attempt which had been a failure. Such a compromise was not possible in France, and Henry had long ago faced the fact that the two religions must be allowed to subsist side by side in the country. One of these must be the Established Church, and that could only be the Church of the vast majority; the king was himself regarded as the personification of the state and the symbol of national unity, and therefore must conform to the majority. Meanwhile the Catholics cried out that the war would come to an end if a Catholic king could be found. The Huguenot Sully advised him to conform, and pointed out that his co-religionists would probably be better protected by a duly installed Catholic than by a Huguenot who reigned on sufferance. Henry therefore made up his mind that if his conversion would end the struggle which was reducing the country to beggary and despair it was his business to be converted; that as a Protestant king he could do little for the Huguenots, and as a Catholic king he could do much. In his own words: "Like St. Paul, he had not refused to be anathema for his brethren". On 25 July, 1594, he was escorted to the old church of St. Denis, amid great enthusiasm, and readmitted to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. A week after his conversion a treaty for three months was concluded with the league, upon the expiration of which time all in arms against the king were to be treated as rebels unless they surrendered within a month. A number of the more important league towns in France submitted to the king, and in the early part of 1594 he was crowned at Chartres amid great ceremony,

and received the submission of Paris. Some futile attempt was made to oppose his entry into his capital, but no serious resistance was offered, and after the king had dined he watched the Spanish mercenaries, to the number of 3000, march out at the gate of St. Denis. Their commanders, who affected not to recognize his existence, barely condescended to salute him. Henry bowed ironically. "Commend me to your master," he said, "but don't come back." A few leaguers accompanied the Spaniards, but their faction was now dead. Upon the northern frontier Spain was still strong, and in 1594 Henry was obliged to make a short campaign in Picardy. It was obvious to him that the whole of his recent troubles had been caused by Spanish interference, and, against the words of his cautious advisers, who urged him to wait until he was securely settled on his throne, he resolved to take the bull by the horns and declare war with Spain. The declaration was made on 17 January, 1595. Henry had great difficulty in collecting money for his first campaign, which took place in the district of Burgundy. The count of Fuentes, who had succeeded Parma as commander in the Netherlands, was also commissioned by Philip to invade France, and succeeded in inflicting a heavy defeat upon Henry's forces in that district. He secured the alliance of England and the United Provinces, but he was terribly hampered by lack of money and resources. The care of Rosny, however, never left his military chest entirely empty, and by one means or another he was always able to raise sufficient money to keep his soldiers in a good temper. The Spaniards were gradually forced back, and eventually, in 1598, a truce between the two powers was signed at Vervains.

When the last remnants of the civil war had been destroyed, and France was at peace with foreign countries, Henry proceeded to consider the religious question, the results of his efforts being the famous Edict of Nantes, issued on 13 April, 1598. In the preamble to this measure he expressed his gratitude to God for the strength which had enabled him to struggle against the fearful disorders which he found at his accession. As everything could not be done at once, he had preferred to deal with those evils which could only be overcome by force of arms, and had postponed other reforms for the moment. The preamble proceeds:

"But in that it has pleased God to grant us the enjoyment of some quiet we think that we could not better use this tranquillity than by enabling all our subjects to worship His Holy Name and if it has not pleased him to permit that this can as yet be done in one form of religion, by providing that it be at least done with one and the same intention and in such order that there rise not hence any trouble or tumult." For this purpose the edict had been drawn up, and was explained to be intended as the final settlement of the religious difficulties. The Huguenots gained entire freedom of conscience and practical freedom of worship; all disabilities of office or citizenship were removed; they were to enjoy the benefits of all colleges, schools, and hospitals; a large number of cities were licensed for Protestant

worship and a considerable number of castles. The Huguenots were allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns as a pledge of good faith, and among these was included La Rochelle. The local councils of the Huguenots were dissolved, and they were forbidden to form any leagues or raise any funds for political purposes within the kingdom. This was the first formal recognition which a great European nation had made of the principle of religious toleration. It was the first attempt since Christianity had triumphed over paganism in the Roman Empire that any nation had made to accommodate two opposed creeds within its frontiers. It may be said that other edicts and other treaties during religious wars had granted terms to the Huguenots of a very similar character; the real difference is that Henry was determined that the Edict of Nantes should be no mere sop to religious passion and no mere temporary accommodation, but should be observed as one of the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

As might be expected, a great deal of animosity was aroused; the clergy and lawyers in particular complained that the Huguenots had been too favourably treated, and Parliament, for nearly a year, refused to register the edict. But by persuasion and diplomacy Henry at length overcame all opposition, and during the twelve years from the Edict of Nantes to his death the Protestants enjoyed greater peace and prosperity than ever before or afterwards. They were a minority, and an unpopular minority, of the nation; amid the wide and general licentiousness their very morality made them hated. They were regarded as necessary exceptions to what would otherwise have been a uniform and consistent system of government, and so far they might consider themselves very well treated. On the other hand, they were the very flower of the population; the most intelligent of the upper classes, the most enterprising of the tradesmen, and the most capable artisans were to be found in their ranks, while the democratic nature of their ecclesiastical government gave them a spirit of self-reliance and control which might be sought in vain elsewhere in France. The consequence of their general unpopularity and the loss of their protector after Henry's death naturally forced them to draw together for the purpose of self-defence, with the result that they became, to some extent, a state within a state, a charge laid against them before the final onslaught of Richelieu.

After the restoration of peace and the settlement of the religious difficulties Henry's next task was to reduce the finances of the kingdom into some form of order. More than thirty years of civil and foreign warfare, added to the continual dishonesty and peculation of the officials, had produced an appalling state of financial embarrassment. The public accounts were so badly kept that no chancellor of the exchequer could tell what revenue he might expect or what his predecessors had expended. The system of farming the taxes, the most oppressive method of levying any tax, was made yet more oppressive by the fact that the right was not sold to the highest bidder, but was given as a matter of favour to the king's favourites

or to members of the Council. Public sinecures had been created in large numbers; those who had any claim upon the taxation system even sold their rights at a heavy discount to others in preference to waiting an indefinite time for their money, and the purchasers naturally used their official influence to make further profits out of the wretched people. Those, again, who formed the wealthier part of the population contrived to escape the obligation of payment by entering some doubtful claim to nobility or by the acquisition of some small office, often gained by underhand means. The burden of taxation seemed to have increased in proportion as the country was less able to bear it: in many districts commerce and manufacture had totally ceased; peasants had abandoned the planting of crops from which they themselves could expect not even the means of subsistence, let alone any profit. The very roads had fallen into such disrepair that no communication existed between certain districts, while peasants formed themselves into bands of marauders and robbed their neighbours with such arms as nature could provide.

An energetic reformer might have swept the whole system into limbo, in despair of producing any results with abuses so rampant and officials so rapacious, but a sweeping reform would probably have been a great mistake. Henry was fortunate in having at his side the man of all others who was best able to grapple with these evils. Rosny was not an original genius but he was a sound business man, devoted to routine work, with a profound respect for order and regularity, and ready to devote an infinite amount of time and trouble to questions of detail. He eventually secured the regular collection of revenues by abolishing such abuses as were not an inherent part of the existing system, and by reopening such sources of national wealth as had been stopped by years of anarchy and misrule. The tax farmers were forced to disgorge a reasonable proportion of their extortions, sinecures were abolished, claims for exemption were rigorously cut down. Roads were repaired or created, river navigation was improved, and a beginning was made of a system of canals which were to connect the waterways of the country with the seas which washed its southern and western shores. The duke of Sully was not entirely at one with his master's views upon the future economic development of France. Henry's attention was attracted by the large numbers of unemployed and mendicants, who were a danger to the public peace, and he was anxious to introduce manufactures as a means of providing occupation for these idle hands. Sully, on the other hand, believed that France was destined to be a pastoral and agricultural country, and that the indoor life necessitated by manufacture would be physically injurious to the nation. He declared for free trade, while Henry was to some extent a protectionist; the king was right and Sully was wrong. The silk manufacture, for instance, which had been a decaying industry, speedily revived; the silk of Lyons became able to compete with the products of other centres in Europe. Cloth weaving was improved, and the tapestry of Gobelin became famous. The king,

again, was anxious to encourage colonial enterprise, a project in which Sully did not believe. In 1604 a successful attempt was made to found a colony in the New World, the most conspicuous figure among the emigrants being Champlain, who sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1608, and after the king's death was the discoverer of the great lakes of America, and the founder of Quebec. These principles of economy and reform speedily produced the most beneficial results. French trade, especially in the Mediterranean, revived with marvellous rapidity. Both Henry and Rosny took the greatest interest in the condition of the lower classes: in 1598 the latter made a tour through France to enquire into their most pressing wants, and to examine for himself the working of his reforms. Particularly beneficial was the arrangement by which he enabled any taxpayer to bring to justice assessors who had levied unduly heavy contributions upon him. The claims to nobility of those who professed exemption upon that account were severely investigated, and Sully showed no respect of persons in his vigorous attacks upon the dishonest and the extortionate.

The increasing wealth of the country enabled the king to improve his military resources. A regular force of infantry was set on foot and regularly paid, and replaced the turbulent bands of mercenaries upon whom France had formerly been accustomed to rely. Fortresses were repaired and strengthened, and their defences scientifically improved. More powerful and better-equipped artillery than any that the country had yet seen was procured; large sums were also spent upon town improvements, especially in Paris. The greater proportion of the inhabitants lived in streets which might well be compared to open sewers. The upper stories of the houses projected so far that light and air were shut out. Household refuse was removed by the simple process of shooting it into the street, regardless of the decency or comfort of passers by. Artisans practised even the most repulsive trades in the street, while the scavenging of the town was done by crowds of half-starved dogs. At night it was unsafe to venture abroad except under the protection of a numerous escort. Henry cleared away many of these foul slums, and began the provision of open spaces as lungs for his capital. The popular story that he wished every peasant to have a fowl for his pot on Sunday very well represents the ideal which he set before himself, though it was an ideal which was by no means realized during his reign. Famine and distress were only too common even after Sully's reforms had taken root, but at the same time the progress made by the country under the new administration was indeed astounding.

The progress, however, seemed wholly dependent upon the continuance of the king's life; the heir to the throne, the prince of Condé, was a boy of weak health, whose claim indeed was open to challenge, and everyone was anxious to see Henry the father of legitimate children. Margaret of Valois, his wife, had been living in Auvergne since 1587; as Henry went his own way, with his favourites and mistresses, she went hers, and Henry was advised by Mornay to secure a divorce

from the Pope and to marry again. He had already legitimized the children of his favourite mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, and had given her the title of duchess of Beaufort. He seemed anxious to marry her, but in 1599 she died, to the great grief of the king. A marriage was then arranged, since Henry had been released by the Pope from his union with Margaret, between himself and the niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, daughter of Jane of Austria, the child of the emperor Ferdinand. Mary de' Medici was married to Henry by proxy at Florence, on 3 October, 1600, as he was himself engaged in a little war with Savoy. She brought with her certain Italian followers who became the plagues of France in the next generation, her gipsy companion, Leonora Dori, and Concini, who afterwards became Dori's husband. The birth of an heir in the following year seemed to remove all difficulties regarding the succession to the throne.

Henry's supremacy, however, by no means contented the many nobles who found that their territorial rights and influence had diminished or disappeared. Of these the duke of Biron was foremost in fomenting discord, and was used as a tool by the duke of Savoy, after his defeat by Henry in 1600. They discussed projects for Henry's overthrow, and entered into treasonable negotiations with Spain. The plot was revealed to Henry, and Biron was executed in 1602, an act at any rate serving as an example to other plotters. Henry himself had resolved that as soon as France was sufficiently powerful he would attack the house of Hapsburg, separate the Netherlands from Spain, and unite the Protestant princes of Germany in alliance, while he would also help the Italian princes to drive the Spaniards out of their country. The so-called Grand Design which Sully represents Henry as having formed for the confederation of all Christian states in Europe, in order to secure religious toleration, the expulsion of the Turks and the abolition of war by arbitration, probably existed only in the mind of his chancellor of the exchequer. But Sully's diplomacy was successful both in Italy and Spain. Through his influence a treaty was signed between Spain and the Dutch, securing the independence of the United Provinces, and allowing them full commercial rights in all parts of the Indies not under Spanish rule. Then came the premonitory mutterings of the storm which was to burst over Europe as the Thirty Years' War. Henry was particularly interested by the dispute concerning the succession to the duchy of Cleves and Juliers, which lay between the Dutch and the Protestants of Central Germany, and was thus of vital importance to the interests of either religious party. Henry IV declared that if the emperor tried to seize these duchies he would support the claims of Brandenburg with his whole force. The town of Juliers was seized in 1609 by the Archduke Leopold, but the great Catholic powers were busy elsewhere; Austria was occupied by domestic quarrels, and Spain was inflicting a deadly blow to her prosperity by her expulsion of the Moriscos, an act of folly precisely comparable to the later revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Henry, therefore, was able to prepare for war undisturbed. By 1610 he

had collected a large force, and was prepared to lead his troops to the Rhine. On 13 May the queen was crowned at St. Denis with great splendour, and on the 19th Henry was to leave Paris to take command of his army. On the morning after the queen's coronation, as he was driving through Paris alone in his coach, escorted by the footmen who ran or walked by the side of it, a block in the traffic stopped the progress of the vehicle. At that moment an assassin leapt upon the hind wheel and stabbed the king to the heart. Ravaillac, an insane monk, who believed, in his own words, that he was removing the enemy of Christ, was clearly shown to have acted upon his own responsibility, and not to have been suborned by Spain or anyone else, though such suspicions rose quite naturally in an age when political assassination was a recognized weapon. His act aroused universal and heartfelt grief thoughout the country. The Parisians loved Henry IV as a personal friend, and the country people gathered in crowds at the crossroads to ask whether the news were true, and dispersed weeping to their homes. "What will become of us?" men were heard to say; "we have lost our father." And the prospects before France, with a queen who was devoted to unworthy favourites, and with nobles delightedly anticipating a weak and dissolute regency, were far from reassuring.

Henry's faults were great and flagrant: his sensuality was often unbridled; his idea of marriage was rather Mohammedan than Christian; he wanted a harem, and he kept one. He was a heavy eater, fond of coarse food, uncleanly in person, coarse in manners; yet he was extraordinarily popular and successful. His success was partly due to his indomitable energy. He could never sit still, and preferred to discuss the most important matters of state while walking about. He would weary the energies of all about him, and remained himself unwearied at the end of the day. An instinctive capacity for generalship and indomitable bravery added to this restlessness made him an unequalled leader in the age of guerrilla warfare. He was popular because he was human. He cared nothing for flattery; he was the most skilful flatterer of others. The refinements of personal comfort attracted him but little, but he wished to see his people happy and prosperous. He had a sense of humour, and would make a jest of the most serious business. The magistrates of a certain town refused to open the gates until the king's batteries had been turned upon them. They then assured him, in a formal address, of the loyalty which they owed him by divine and civil law. "Cannon law you mean, gentlemen," said Henry, with a smile. The saying attributed to him at the time of his conversion, that Paris was worth a Mass is likely enough to be authentic, though it would not represent his settled convictions upon the point. He passed very rapidly from grave to gay, and was accustomed to dismiss unpleasant subjects with a cynical sarcasm. Having made up his mind to abjure his faith, he went into the business as cheerfully as he went into battle when he had resolved that a conflict was necessary. Experience taught him to expect little of men, and therefore he was by

no means resentful, and his character showed an apparent indifference and carelessness to incidents which would have upset the equanimity of any other monarch. Public rebukes from the Calvinist or Jesuit preachers, on account of his profligacy, left him undisturbed. He had also a certain physical good nature which objected to the sight of the unpleasant, and on that very account he was anxious to avoid strife and bitterness. In short, he was a man with all the failings of humanity, with some of its finest virtues, and with something regal about him which gave whatever he said or did the stamp of kingliness.

CHAPTER VII

Richelieu (A.D. 1585–1642)

Armand Jean du Plessis was the second son of François du Plessis, lord of Richelieu in Touraine and captain of the guards of Henry IV. The future cardinal, who was to govern France and raise her to the dignity of a great power, was born on 5 September, 1585, during those troublous times when Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, ascended the throne as Henry IV, and applied his energies to subduing the civil and religious strife which was ruining his country. His measures of toleration, expressed in the famous Edict of Nantes in 1598, silenced the long quarrel between the Catholics and the Protestants, and allowed the trade and industries of the country to revive. The king's solicitude for the material and social welfare of all his subjects was supported by the illustrious duke of Sully, who improved the condition of France as a wise landowner might improve a neglected estate. Economy, reform, and improvement were his watchwords, and this policy was dictated by his ambition that France should have a leading voice in the questions which agitated Europe. Henry saw a certain danger that France might become dependent upon Spain, and he sought to exert an active influence in Germany, but these great designs were cut short by the dagger of an assassin in 1610; when Louis XIII succeeded him, a mere child of nine years, the government was administered by his mother, Mary de' Medici. She did nothing and undid a great deal. She married her son to a Spanish princess and her daughter to a Spanish prince, and would have liked to follow the lead of Spain upon the path of Catholicism. At the same time she squandered upon her Italian parasites the treasure accumulated by Henry IV, while the country fell into disorder and her government into contempt. Though the power of the nobles had somewhat declined, the great landowners had not, as yet, gathered round the court, and there was no check upon the lawlessness of the territorial chieftains. Louis XIII was from boyhood a weak character and unlikely to become a great or a powerful monarch; it was reserved for the genius of Richelieu to save France from herself and to lay the foundations of her future greatness.

Richelieu's early years were naturally spent in the family castle At the age of nine he was sent to Paris and entered the college of Navarre, gaining as much or as little advantage as could reasonably be expected from the methods of instruction then in vogue. He was originally intended for a soldier, and was therefore sent to the academy of one

Antoine du Pluvinel, where he learnt the accomplishments required of a gentleman and a courtier—riding, fencing, the use of arms, and the proper bearing and courtly attitude so far as these could be taught. But an unforeseen incident changed the whole of his career. Henry III had conferred upon the family, in return for services rendered, the right of presentation to the bishopric of Luçon. The Richelieu family, in accordance with the custom of the time, filled the see with a succession of nominal bishops, who collected the episcopal revenue for their own benefit. The chapter of the cathedral, however, finding that their church was falling into ruin, began a suit against the family in order that some part of the revenue might be applied to the repair of the fabric. No court, however well disposed to the Richelieus, was likely to decide that a cathedral could fall into ruin, and it became obvious that the family would have to pay. But if the episcopal salary was not to be available as heretofore, it could at least be used to establish one of the sons of the house in life. The second son, though only twelve years of age, was therefore nominated as bishop of Luçon. However, when Alphonse was old enough to realize the responsibilities of the position, he declined the honour and preferred to become a monk. The bishopric was therefore thrust upon Armand, who made no objection to abandoning his military career. The bishopric was not heavily endowed or vastly important; on the other hand, it would confer upon its holder a far higher standing and dignity than a subaltern military officer could hope to attain for many years. Moreover, the young man's health was not of the best, and was likely to be a serious handicap in the profession of arms.

Richelieu therefore devoted his time to the study of theology, and in 1606, at the age of twenty-one, he was nominated bishop of Luçon by Henry IV. In 1607, when he was not quite twenty-three, he obtained a dispensation from the Pope, as he was younger than the canonical age, and was then duly consecrated. After further study in Paris he returned to his bishopric and settled down among his flock, who had not seen a bishop among them for sixty years. There was work enough for him to do. The district was unhealthy, lying, as it did, amid the marshes of lower Poitou; the revenues were consequently small, while the cathedral was dilapidated, and the new incumbent wrote to a friend stating that his bishopric was the poorest, the dirtiest, and the most disagreeable in France. Moreover, the suit brought by the chapter to secure money for repairs was still in progress. Richelieu grappled with all these difficulties and displayed that firmness of grasp which afterwards distinguished his administration. He wrote a considerable amount of unreadable theology, including various works of controversy against the Huguenots, and while thus occupying the next six years he kept an eye upon any possible opportunity for action in a more conspicuous field. He was an ambitious man, greedy for prominence and power, but the death of Henry IV did not bring him to the front. At the same time he visited Paris occasionally and endeavoured to keep his name before those in power.

Mary de' Medici attempted to quell the unruly nobles, whom her weak government could not restrain, by the simple expedient of bribery. Naturally the more the nobles received the more they wanted, and the treasure accumulated by the prudence of Henry IV and his ministers was soon exhausted. The malcontents were then ready to take up arms and to compel further concessions by main force. The leader in these disturbances was the Prince de Condé, who, after Louis XIII and his younger brother, was next heir to the throne. He was an irresolute and greedy man, without the smallest talent for government, but his position made him the spokesman of the discontented party, and, in order to show some sort of zeal for the public welfare, he asked that the States General should be called together. In 1614 a summons was issued bidding the clergy, the nobles, and the commons of France to choose their representatives. Their petitions, when they met, received no attention, and after their dissolution they were not again convened until the famous meeting of 1789. Their only importance at this juncture is that they enabled Richelieu to begin his political career. He was elected as one of the representatives of the clergy of Poitou, and was thus able to bring himself to the notice of the queen and the court as a loyal subject and a safe man, whose vote and whose influence were at the service of the Government. After the session was over he remained in Paris, seeking the patronage of the queen and court and some opportunity for entrance to political life.

The queen had given her favour to certain Italians who had come to Paris in her train. One of these was Leonora Dori, her foster sister, an ignorant and vulgar woman, the daughter of a Florentine carpenter. She had married a certain Concino Concini, an Italian of good birth and no means, whose wife enabled him to gain great ascendancy over the feeble-minded queen. Wealth and honours were showered upon this adventurer, and he became the object of universal dislike. In 1615 Louis XIII was married, at the age of fourteen, to Anne of Austria, a daughter of Philip III of Spain. These children were surrounded by a household of officials, and the bishop of Luçon, afterwards the bitterest opponent of Spain, was appointed almoner. He thus had a recognized position at court, and gained a reputation as a faithful and trustworthy adviser. Various confidential missions of the Prince de Condé were performed with skill and dexterity, and Richelieu was regarded as at any rate a useful instrument. The queen was at length induced to imprison the Prince de Condé; her favourite was then able to dismiss the old ministers of Henry IV and appoint his own creatures in their place. Accordingly the bishop of Luçon was made one of the secretaries of state, an appointment received with less disapproval than that which greeted many of Concini's procedings. Though Richelieu held this office but a short time, he none the less displayed that political insight which afterwards made him great. To the German ambassador, for instance, he explained that, though the queen-mother was friendly to Spain, he had no intention of seeing

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

From the painting by Philippe de Champaigne in the Louvre, Paris

France become a mere appanage of that country. His religious policy was clearly defined even thus early. "The different faiths", he wrote, "which are prevalent among us do not make us different states. We are united under a prince in whose service no Catholic is so short-sighted as to think a Spaniard a better man than a Huguenot." National advantage and not religious strife were henceforth to dictate to France her choice of allies and her domestic administration. Richelieu began to take vigorous measures against the rebellious nobles, and seemed likely to become the right-hand man of the Government when an unforeseen accident suddenly overthrew his prospects and deprived him of his position.

Louis XIII was an ignorant youth of sixteen years, for whose lack of education and training his mother was chiefly to blame. His chief amusement was hunting, and the most important person in his eyes was a small nobleman, Albert de Luynes, who acted as falconer and instructed the king in the art of sport. Whether the initial idea of the plot which was carried out arose in the brain of Louis or in the mind of Luynes is of little importance, but the fact remains that Louis was determined to secure the use of his privileges as king, and saw no prospect of doing so unless he could overthrow Concini. Luynes gathered a small band of supporters even humbler in rank than himself; at the king's command they lay in wait for Concini and assassinated him. Great was the delight of the mob. Concini's wife was tried and beheaded, and the vast wealth which both had acquired was immediately seized by Luynes. Between the young king and his mother there was no love lost; for a time he kept her a prisoner in her own apartments and declined to see her, carrying on negotiations through Richelieu and Luynes. At length she was allowed to retire to Blois, where she was to be suitably maintained, but to have no further voice in the affairs of state. With her went Richelieu, who had owed his rise to Concini, and was therefore involved in his downfall. The only post that seemed open to him for the moment was that of adviser to a queen in retirement.

For the next seven years little was heard of Richelieu. He retired with the queen to Blois, and was appointed chief of her council. At the same time he was in constant communication with Luynes, and professed his readiness to inform the king of any plots that might be hatched against him. Louis XIII and his court, however, were not inclined to trust Richelieu, and their knowledge of his ability strengthened their fear of his action. He was ordered to retire to his bishopric, where, for a time, he led a quiet life and wrote a work upon *The Defence of the Principal Points of the Faith of the Catholic Church.* His enemies, however, were not satisfied, and he was ordered in 1618 to exile himself to Avignon, which then formed part of the Papal states. Meanwhile the queen-mother at Blois was surrounded by the spies of Luynes, and kept under a supervision not very far removed from actual captivity. The letters of her friends imprisoned in the Bastille were opened, and were made the ground of criminal pro-

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ceedings against them. Moreover, Luynes became unpopular with the nobles, who were jealous of his position and power, and the queen had no difficulty in gathering a band of malcontents with whom she might devise plans for resistance. In February, 1619, she succeeded in escaping from Blois and went to Loches, under the protection of the Duc d'Epernon, who had collected a small force. These proceedings caused considerable alarm at Paris, and brought Richelieu again into prominence. He had behaved himself with great circumspection during his exile at Avignon, and the court now considered that if he were restored to the councils of the queen-mother he might at least persuade her to act with common prudence. He was therefore recalled, and resumed his position as the queen's councillor at Angoulême, and did his best to secure an accommodation between mother and son. As he pointed out, neither she nor her forces were strong enough to resist the king, while the court party was ready to grant her anything except restoration to power. She was therefore given the government of Anjou, and certain positions were thrown open to her followers. But the reconciliation was not of long duration. Friction between the king and the queen-mother was constant, and seemed at times to threaten an outbreak of civil war, though such crises were usually terminated by new promises, which either side felt themselves at liberty to break if they chose. Richelieu remained on good terms with Luynes, to whose nephew he had given one of his nieces in marriage. But Luynes none the less distrusted him, and thwarted his ambition to secure a cardinal's hat from the Pope. However, this opposition was soon ended by the death of Luynes, who was sent to command the king's forces against a Huguenot outbreak in the south. Luynes was no soldier, and, though his armies were at first successful, he was checked and defeated beneath the walls of Montauban in November, 1621. Here he was attacked by fever, and died in the last month of the year. There was now no further obstacle to the conferment of a cardinal's hat upon Richelieu, and at the age of thirty-eight, in the following year, he received this, the highest honour which the Church can bestow, an honour, too, which largely facilitated his future advancement. The king's relations with his mother had become more friendly and her influence over her son had been partly regained. The leader of the king's council, the Marquis de la Vieuville, found himself unable to struggle with the jealousy and the intrigues of his fellow councillors, and he at length conceived the plan of gaining the support of the queen-mother by offering her chief councillor a cabinet post. The king was somewhat unwilling to agree, but his scruples were overcome, and at length Richelieu, after some show of reluctance, became a minister of Louis XIII in 1624. He had already resigned his bishopric, and indeed had no time or inclination to concern himself with the petty affairs of an obscure diocese.

La Vieuville soon discovered that Richelieu, with his dignity as a prince of the Church and with his sagacious and powerful intellect,

was not likely to be a nonentity in the ministry. La Vieuville was a man of little capacity, doubtful honesty, and a violent temper; he undermined his own influence and was eventually arrested upon a charge of corruption and imprisoned in the château of Amboise. Richelieu now became chief minister and for eighteen years practically sole minister. The other members of the Government did not venture to question his authority. It is related that the Duc d'Epernon, a supporter of the queen-mother, was one day descending the staircase of the Louvre, when he met one of Richelieu's supporters who enquired whether there was any news. "Yes," replied the duke, "you go up and I go down." Richelieu had obtained power by his own efforts and by his own efforts he retained it. If he was not, as a minister now is, at the mercy of public caprice, he was at the mercy of a capricious monarch in the person of Louis XIII, a ruler ready to believe evil, jealous of those in power, and deeply interested in affairs of state though not possessed of sufficient ability to guide them. Richelieu retained his position owing to the skilful manner in which he maintained his influence over the king. Though he was the real executive power he was careful to leave the king a show of power; while he never wearied the monarch by constant attendance, he was careful never to let him out of his sight. He gave his enemies, who were many, no opportunity of intriguing against him, and was able to show Louis a constant succession of beneficial results from his efforts.

These efforts were directed to crushing the political power of the Huguenots, to destroying the last remnants of independence among the old feudal aristocracy, and to centralizing the Government by the suppression of local assemblies and local courts of justice. The overthrow of the aristocracy implied the overthrow of the branches of the house of Hapsburg, that is, of Austria and Spain. The problems before him were thus many and serious. The house of Austria had destroyed the balance of European power: one of its branches was in possession of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Milan, the Netherlands, and America, while the other held Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the German Empire. At the moment when Richelieu came into power the emperor of Germany had triumphed over the Protestant princes leagued against him, while Philip IV of Spain was attempting to aid Austria by extending his territory to the foot of the Alps towards the Tyrol, in which direction he might connect the family possessions in Germany and Italy. For this purpose he had seized the Valtelline, a valuable strip of Alpine territory in the possession of the Protestant Grisons. To the astonishment of Spain, Richelieu supported the cause of the Grisons and drove out the Spaniards, informing the Pope that his action was for the good of Christianity and of the Holy Father himself. Though he was a minister of a Catholic nation, a cardinal, and a prince of the Church, he initiated a policy with which his successors were unable to break. France was to be Catholic at home and Protestant abroad, or, rather, her foreign policy was not to be

biased by religious considerations. But at this moment he was obliged to make peace, as some of the Huguenot towns in France were in insurrection, and he soon realized that until France herself was free from internal dissensions it was impossible for her to play any leading part in foreign politics.

The Huguenot party in France was as much political as religious. Discontented nobles at variance with the court often joined the party, not from religious conviction, but because it afforded them an opportunity of asserting their independence. Henry IV had hoped to bring the religious struggle to an end by the Edict of Nantes, which recognized the co-existence of the two creeds within his country. This was a most unusual act of toleration in such an age; nearly a century was to elapse before England was able to pass any measure of the kind. Had the Huguenots done their best to observe it in the true spirit of toleration they would probably have been left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their privileges. They had been allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns, chiefly in the south of France, the centre to which French heretics had gravitated since the days of the Albigenses. They were also allowed to continue the meetings at which they had been accustomed to discuss their affairs, These they had continued to hold without the necessary permission from the Government, while they also brought their military organization to a higher pitch of excellence. Anyone discontented with the Government naturally turned to them, as did the queen-mother in her troubles, and the Huguenots were consequently drawn into quarrels which had no possible concern with questions of religion and obtained an evil reputation as disaffected and disloyal citizens.

As we have seen, Luynes perished in the course of an expedition against the Huguenots, and when Richelieu interfered on behalf of the Grisons the Huguenots again revolted and their city of La Rochelle took up arms. Richelieu naturally felt aggrieved that at the time when he was fighting the battles of the Protestants abroad they should be hampering his action at home. He patched up a peace with Spain and in 1626 made peace between the king and the people of La Rochelle. This was obviously but the prelude to a more extended struggle, for which Richelieu was silently preparing when it was precipitated by the course of events.

Charles I of England had married Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII, in 1624. France had hoped that the English Catholics would obtain better treatment in consequence of this marriage, while England had expected the same for the French Protestants. Both parties were disappointed, while Buckingham's attentions to the French queen, Anne of Austria, at the time of his visit to Paris to receive his master's bride, had aroused the wrath of the French monarch. In this way the countries were drifting into war, and Buckingham, who hoped to gain popularity for himself and the king, sailed to La Rochelle in 1627 with a large fleet and landed at the island of Rhé. The Huguenots of La Rochelle were delighted to see him, as they apprehended Richelieu's

RICHELIEU AT LA ROCHELLE

From the painting by Henri Motte

intention of wresting this town from their grasp. Buckingham mismanaged the expedition; Richelieu was able to throw supplies into the town, and the English attempt to carry the French positions by storm was a total failure. In November, 1627, Buckingham was obliged to embark the remnant of his troops and return to England. He had involved the Huguenots in war with the French Government, and French Protestants as a whole were resolved to stake their all upon this struggle. La Rochelle was the key to the situation, and Richelieu knew that its capture would break the Huguenots' power in France.

It was a town of enormous strength by reason both of its situation and its circumstances, boasting one of the largest populations in the country, composed chiefly of sailors and fishermen, characterized by the indomitable bravery of French mariners. La Rochelle was entirely free from the control of the central Government. The citizens chose their own officials, administered their own affairs, and might, indeed, almost consider themselves an independent state. The town was defended, not only by massive fortifications, but by vast swamps which could only be crossed by easily defensible causeways. The French king had no ships of war worth mentioning and there was little danger to be feared on the side of the sea. Richelieu gave his undertaking the character of a religious war; the Church contributed to the expense and the Pope granted plenary indulgences to those who served in the campaign, while the cardinal's army of 25,000 men was unusually well disciplined and regularly paid. Richelieu's idea was to reduce the town by famine, and for this purpose it was necessary to cut off supplies by water. Labouring under enormous difficulties, the cardinal constructed a huge mole or dike, 700 fathoms in length, across the harbour, with a small opening in the centre guarded by a strong fort. This work was partly destroyed by a storm, but when it had been completed the reduction of the city was only a matter of time. In May, 1628, the English fleet appeared in the bay but was forced to retreat before the difficulties of the situation. Buckingham, on the point of leading a second expedition, fell by the dagger of an assassin, and eventually, on 28 October, 1628, La Rochelle surrendered, after a siege of fifteen months. The people had been reduced to the last extremity of hunger, and some 15,000 had perished from starvation and disease. Six days after the surrender the dike was destroyed by a great storm, and had the English then made their effort they could have entered the town without difficulty. Protestantism was no longer a political force in France. In Languedoc the Duc de Rohan continued the struggle for a time, but in 1629 the war was brought to an end by the Peace of Alais. Richelieu, though a Catholic, showed real statesmanship in the terms he made with the conquered party. Their fortresses were taken from them and their walls destroyed, the cardinal himself superintending this destruction in twenty cases, but the Huguenots were allowed freedom of worship and religious opinions. Richelieu did not wish to weaken his country by driving out members

who might well become loyal citizens. For the next fifty years, until the bigotry of Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. Under Richelieu Huguenot officers served in the army and were allowed to practise their faith undisturbed.

The overthrow of the Huguenots enabled the cardinal to devote his attention to the foreign policy of the country. As has been said, he had sent French troops into Italy to protect the Swiss cantons and the Valtelline and to support the French claimant to the duchy of Mantua, but it was not his intention to make acquisitions of territory beyond the Alps. He desired merely to check the progress of Spain and Austria. It was in the course of these Italian campaigns, in which no important results were achieved, that Richelieu met Giulio Mazarini, who was to become his successor as Cardinal Mazarin. He was at that time a young Italian of twenty-eight, in the service of the Pope, and when Richelieu drove the Spaniards out of the Valtelline, Mazarin was commissioned to negotiate on behalf of the Papal forces with the French general. His success in this mission gave him a taste for diplomacy; he abandoned the military life and entered the Church. Like attracts like, and Mazarin felt a natural inclination towards Richelieu, who, on his side, had been struck by the young man's profound appreciation of French interests. With Richelieu's influence to clear the way his path was smooth, and the Pope sent him to France as Extraordinary Nuncio in 1634. He became a French subject and Richelieu gave him his entire confidence, and regarded him as his most trustworthy assistant after the death of Father Joseph. Of this latter somewhat mysterious personality a word should be said. The theory that Father Joseph was the driving force of Richelieu's administration is entirely unfounded. He was by birth a member of an old Parliamentary family, and was born in 1577. He early showed a considerable talent for languages, and had studied in Italy. He had a natural inclination for an ascetic life and joined the Order of the Capuchins. He first made himself known to diplomatists and politicians by his attempts to preach a crusade against the Turks. He met Richelieu early in life and became entirely devoted to his interests and eventually acted as a kind of unofficial secretary for foreign affairs. Had he lived longer he might have taken the place which Mazarin afterwards filled, but Richelieu was not the man to resign a fragment of his power so long as he could hold the reins, and when he was on his deathbed, Father Joseph was no more.

The most important measure of Richelieu's foreign policy was his interference in the Thirty Years' War. This conflict had begun before Richelieu came into power, and had been in progress for ten years before France took any part in it. Probably if Richelieu had not interfered Ferdinand IV would have secured a complete triumph for Catholicism in Germany. In 1629 Ferdinand had issued the famous Edict of Restitution, by the provisions of which confiscated ecclesiastical property was to be returned to its former owners, a step which

THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV INTO PARIS. From the painting by Baron Gérard in the Louvre, Paris.

This picture shows the first of the Bourbon kings of France entering into possession of his capital after he had changed his religion in order to win it. "Paris vaut une messe," "Paris is worth a mass," said Henry of Navarre. During the latter part of the Wars of Religion he had been the champion of the Huguenots, and as king, even after returning to Catholicism, he stood for toleration. The famous Edict of Nantes was his work, and its revocation by Louis XIV was one of the most disastrous events in French history.

François, Baron Gérard, the painter, was born at Rome in 1770 and died in 1837. He gained a remarkable vogue as a portrait-painter under Napoleon and the Restoration, and he is also remembered by several notable historical canvases like the present work. This plate is reproduced from a small Louvre copy of a large painting in the Versailles collection.

ENTRY OF HENRY IV INTO PARIS

BARON GÉRARD

seemed likely to cripple the powers of every Protestant prince in Germany. With Wallenstein and his victorious army to support him, Ferdinand seemed likely to make the edict a reality, and Richelieu realized that a united Germany in conjunction with the allied and also Catholic house of Spain would be a combination utterly destructive of the balance of power in Europe. Though he was himself professedly a Catholic, and though he had already overthrown the Huguenots in France, he none the less devoted his most earnest efforts to checking the progress of Ferdinand. In 1630, though Ferdinand had been completely successful in his efforts to crush heresy and secure the supremacy of the Catholic Church, he had been forced to quarrel with Wallenstein. In 1628 Richelieu had promised Gustavus Adolphus support and supplies of money if he would invade Germany, and in 1630 the king of Sweden set out upon his enterprise. The defeat of Tilly at Breitenfeld enabled Gustavus to overrun southern Germany, and was followed by the siege of Nuremberg, the battle of Lützen, and the death of the great Swedish captain. It was a death of which Richelieu heard with some sense of relief. Gustavus seemed likely to become as dangerous a rival of France as Ferdinand had been. Then came the attempt to detach Wallenstein from the service of his master with the offer of the crown of Bohemia, and the assassination of this great leader. Richelieu decided that France must take a definite part in the war, if the advantage she had gained was not to be lost. In 1635 war was formally declared against Ferdinand and Spain.

From that time until the close of his life this struggle engaged Richelieu's attention. In 1636 the Spanish army penetrated the northern frontier and advanced to a point within 100 miles of Paris. The cardinal contrived to stir the patriotism of the country, and Louis was able to lead 40,000 men into the field. The opportunity of the Spaniards was gone, and they beat a hasty retreat. This was the most dangerous period of the war for France; no great advantage was won by either side in subsequent years, although Spain and Germany suffered most from the effects of the long struggle. Portugal, for instance, seized the opportunity to revolt in 1640. In the same year Catalonia and Roussillon declared their independence, and were united to France in the following year. In the Netherlands, again, the Spaniards lost ground, and Arras became a French city in 1640. Richelieu took the side of Holland when the Spanish war broke out once more in the Netherlands, but his proposals for the partition of the southern provinces between France and the Dutch were but coldly received by the Dutch, and were vigorously opposed by the inhabitants of the Low Countries concerned. Even at this time negotiations for concluding the Thirty Years' War had begun. In 1636 it was decided that a council for this purpose should meet at Cologne. Three years afterwards Mazarin was chosen as the French representative, but the first meeting of the commissioners did not take place until five years later, and even then Austria and Spain were not prepared to make peace. When the victories of Turenne and Condé had impressed them with a con-

sciousness of their weakness, France was able to secure the advantages which she desired from the Peace of Westphalia, which brought the war to an end in 1648. Richelieu had died in 1642, but Mazarin and his generals had continued his policy, and the results were such as he would have approved.

Richelieu's tenure of power was never secure. He lived amid palace intrigues and plots, and, though assailed upon every side, was yet able to maintain his influence over the king and to direct the policy of the country. He neither possessed nor valued the arts of conciliation; he seemed to have appreciated the maxim of Machiavelli, that it is better to be feared than to be loved; for love is a wavering, uncertain affection, while fear is stable, constant, and sure. Women hated him as bitterly as men. To a casual eye it must have seemed that the minister was constantly tottering upon the brink of ruin; the favour and support of Louis XIII alone saved him from disaster and disgrace, if not from death, and Louis was constantly ill, and no less constantly capricious and intractable. Richelieu owed his preservation to the care with which he maintained his influence upon the king and the careful precautions by which he was able to anticipate the designs of his very numerous enemies. Those who attempted to intrigue against him found that they were attacking a master in that art. The cardinal had a large force of skilful spies and informers in his pay, and when he had secured evidence of intrigues against the king, or, what was the same thing, against himself, he mercilessly punished the delinquents. After a series of lessons of this kind his enemies began to understand that there was to be but one power in France, and that they were no match for the cardinal with his almost uncanny omniscience of their every word and deed. In 1626 a marriage was proposed between Gaston, the king's brother and heir-presumptive to the throne, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the greatest heiress in France. Gaston's party objected to this alliance, and persuaded him to refuse his consent. But to defeat the project it was necessary to get rid of the minister who had proposed it, and it was therefore resolved that the cardinal should be assassinated by Gaston and some of his friends, who were to visit him at a country house. Gaston was thunderstruck to discover that Richelieu understood his intentions. In terror he disclosed the plot, promised to observe a loyal attitude for ever afterwards, and was left in peace, while his chief associates were either imprisoned or executed.

Then, in 1630, came the so-called "Day of Dupes". During an illness of the king his mother induced him to promise that he would dismiss Richelieu upon his return to Paris. The king, who was weak and feeble, consented in order to put an end to his mother's importunities, but as soon as he had recovered he began to procrastinate. On 10 November his mother had a long interview with him in strict privacy, that she might escape from the cardinal's influence. He, however, suddenly appeared by means of a door which had been overlooked. Mary de' Medici, though astounded by his unforeseen appearance,

speedily recovered herself, and poured out a volley of vituperation. The cardinal requested the king's permission to retire from office. Then the queen-mother in triumph obtained a promise that her favourites, the brothers Marillac, should be appointed respectively commander-in-chief and prime minister. The court regarded Richelieu's downfall as already accomplished, and the party of the queen-mother was correspondingly triumphant. Meanwhile Louis had taken refuge from his mother's importunities at Versailles. There he was followed by Richelieu, who immediately regained his old ascendancy over the king. Marillac had hardly come forward to enter upon his functions when he was informed of his dismissal. He and his brother, the marshal, were immediately arrested, and the latter was condemned to death. The queen-mother fled to Brussels, and remained in exile at foreign courts for more than eleven years. The dramatic scene when the announcement was made that Richelieu, far from disgraced, was in full possession of his authority, has attracted many a descriptive writer.

Then came Gaston's escapade in the duchy of Lorraine, his marriage with Margaret of Lorraine, and his alliance with the Montmorencys of Languedoc for the overthrow of Richelieu. The king's forces put an end to the war with the loss of only eight men, but the duke of Montmorency had been guilty of high treason, and, important personage though he was, illustrious though the family name had been throughout the annals of French history, the cardinal sent him to the block.

Again, there were difficulties with the favourites of Louis XIII. He was a man who must have some companion to whom he could talk perpetually about his horses, his dogs, and his hunting, lament the badness of his health, and groan over his responsibilities. These favourites had as often as not been men, but the king took a liking for Mlle de Hautefort, one of the queen's maids of honour, who declined to support Richelieu's influence and professed herself completely bored with the king's conversation. Richelieu rid himself of her by introducing another attraction, Mlle de La Fayette, who, again, proved so intractable for his own purposes that he was forced to persuade her to enter a convent. Richelieu decided to make no further experiments with the female sex, and selected for the position of king's confidant a young man of good family named Cinq Mars, a handsome and well-mannered youth who soon secured the king's confidence. At the same time he was a profligate young imbecile, and only bore with the king's dullness in order to secure the means for following his own pleasures. The result was friction and quarrels between king and favourite, which were submitted to Richelieu for arbitration with as much solemnity as if they were matters of import to European diplomacy. While Richelieu was careful to maintain his influence over the king he did not pay the same attention to Cinq Mars, and when the youth began to attend the official conferences of the king and the cardinal, Richelieu lost patience, and requested

him to absent himself in language more forcible than polite. Cinq Mars then proceeded to negotiate with Gaston for the cardinal's overthrow. The party which they gathered round them selected the city of Sedan, which was then independent of France, as a stronghold to which they might retire in case of need. In 1642 they made a secret treaty with Spain, who was to support their undertaking in return for the surrender of the countries already captured by France. The campaign in Catalonia was then in progress, and while the cardinal was in the south of France a copy of the secret treaty was placed in his hands; by what means he obtained it has never been discovered, but the conspirators immediately dispersed, with the exception of Cinq Mars and the duke of Bouillon, the lord of Sedan. Gaston was induced to make a full confession, Cinq Mars was condemned to death, and the duke of Bouillon was obliged to surrender Sedan.

These, if perhaps the most important of the plots against Richelieu, may be taken as typical of many more. In fact a recital of the many cabals and intrigues which he survived would fill many hundreds of pages. Not only was he able to defeat them in so far as they attacked his own power and position, but he also made them serve one of the great principles of his policy, the establishment of a centralized and absolute Government. Nobles who revolted against his administration were not merely banished to their estates—they lost their estates and occasionally their heads, and the crown became stronger in consequence. This process, like the overthrow of the Huguenots, was one of the means by which Richelieu secured peace at home and thus enabled the country to conduct a foreign policy with some success.

Richelieu's domestic administration, like his foreign policy, was devoted to the purpose of making France prosperous and powerful. When he came into power the kingdom had no fleet, and was obliged to borrow ships from Holland for the war with La Rochelle. At the end of his career France possessed as good a navy as any other nation. The cardinal had realized the necessity of affording efficient protection to the commerce of the country against the piratical vessels which made the Barbary coast their base of operations. He also devoted considerable attention to the work of colonization which had already begun in North America. The company of New France, which received a charter in 1638, was granted the coastline of North America from Newfoundland to Florida and a monopoly of the fur trade. This monopoly interfered with the development of the company. The company was required within fifteen years to land 4000 colonists in Canada, and to provide them with land and with supplies; but settlers were naturally not forthcoming, as they were debarred by the monopoly from the only form of trade in which there was money to be made at that time. The cardinal also granted other trading companies special privileges, and even concluded a commercial treaty between France and Russia. But the commercial prosperity of France was naturally hindered by the almost continuous wars in which the country was involved. During the eighteen years of Richelieu's administration

there were not three in which perfect peace prevailed both within and without France. Moreover, the cardinal waged war with armies which were then regarded as enormous. In 1638 France had 150,000 men under arms. Armies at that time were largely composed of mercenary forces, and, as the soldiers were often unpaid, they indemnified themselves by ravaging the districts in which they were quartered. If France suffered less than Germany in this respect, her agricultural and commercial progress was none the less seriously retarded.

Richelieu regarded the people as incapable of self-government, and had a fine contempt for popular assemblies, the result, perhaps, of his own experience as a member of the States General. He therefore made it his business to centralize the Government as much as possible, and restricted the power of the local authorities by increasing the number and the responsibilities of the officials known as superintendents. These were commissioners who were sent from time to time into the provinces upon the business of the central Government, and by the close of the reign of Louis XIV they were accustomed to regard themselves as entirely responsible for the administration of the provinces under their care, even in the smallest details. On the whole the innovation proved beneficial; Richelieu selected his superintendents himself, and they were generally more capable men than the local authorities whose functions they usurped. The ultimate result, however, was the inability of the French peasant to take any part in local affairs, and the total incapacity to think politically, which became an obvious and disastrous defect when he was sent abroad for the work of colonization.

As a churchman Richelieu was naturally regarded with little favour. He fought against the Catholics during the Thirty Years' War and supported the unbelievers; here his opponents had no difficulty in finding material enough for accusation and reproach. At the same time the cardinal was undoubtedly a strong and earnest Catholic; but, like other great men, Cromwell, for instance, and William of Orange, he was tolerant in advance of his times. He did much to purify and reform the monasteries in the country, and the episcopate, under his administration, was filled with earnest and able bishops.

Richelieu was no financier, and was unable to deny himself anything that he wanted, whatever the price of it might be. He rebuilt the family château with great magnificence, and erected for himself in Paris a residence afterwards known as the Palais Royal, which he rebuilt near the Louvre on the site of the Hôtel Rambouillet. He expended large sums of money upon the construction and ornamentation of this residence, and the pomp and splendour of his daily life was equal to that of many a petty sovereign. Infirm in health, he took but little outdoor exercise, and for the same reason was excused the constant attendance upon the king usually expected of a minister. His day was chiefly spent in correspondence, interviews with foreign ministers, confidential agents, and numberless others

who had business with him, and in dictation to private secretaries, of whom he kept a considerable number. He slept very little, and when he was awake a secretary was always at hand whenever he might wish to dictate. He was fond of the theatre, and took a considerable interest in literature. He was not a great writer, and his reputation as a preacher remains doubtful; but his memoirs, which are the best authority upon his career, bear the stamp of a vigorous and energetic mind. He was fond of giving suggestions to literary men, and Pierre Corneille owed something of his reputation to Richelieu's patronage. In 1635 he founded an institution which has survived the shock of war and revolution, dynastic and governmental changes. For several years a number of prominent literary men had been accustomed to meet and discuss questions which interested them; the cardinal converted this informal assembly into the French Academy, fixing the number of members at forty, and laying upon them the duty of preparing a dictionary and a grammar which should be a standard of the French language. From 1694 onwards several editions of the dictionary have appeared, and the influence of the Academy upon French literature has been both beneficial and undoubted.

Richelieu died in 1642, shortly after he had crushed the conspiracy of Cinq Mars. In that year he saw the defeat of the Austrians at Kempen and the victory of the Swedes at Breitenfeld. Roussillon was secured to France, Savoy was bound down to French interests, and the Spaniards were driven almost entirely from the duchy of Milan. On 4 December of that year, at the age of fifty-eight, the cardinal died in the great palace which he had built, in full possession of his faculties and his power; his death was universally felt as a relief, in spite of the services which he had done for France. The nobility hated him, and the only result of his achievements obvious to the mass of the people was a heavy burden of taxation, continual wars, and his own enormous wealth. His life is enough to show the nature of his character. He possessed that calm courage which is never overcome by difficulties, and which declines to surrender until the last expedient has been exhausted. His activity was indefatigable, and his animosity against his opponents insatiable. He had his weaknesses: he was vain, fond of outward show, and as ready to flatter when he desired power as to accept flattery when he was himself supreme. He was one of those men of whom their contemporaries can hardly judge; he was hated as the betrayer of the interests of the Church, as the executioner who packed juries in order to condemn distinguished officers and noblemen, as the accumulator of wealth while the peasantry were allowed to starve, as a man hatefully selfish, concerned only with the satisfaction of his ambitions and his avarice. He was also belauded as one who checked disorder and enforced the law, increased the influence of France abroad, added new territory to her boundaries, and enabled her to control the destinies of nations. What he really did was to lay the foundations of modern France. By secularizing his foreign policy and increasing the power of the

crown he created lines upon which the character of the French government, administration, and national growth could steadily develop; he enabled the nation to assume those characteristics which no upheavals or vicissitudes have been able entirely to obliterate, and he thus paved the way for the military power of Napoleon. Probably his nation was by no means the happier for his rule, but it was undoubtedly the stronger and the more enduring. There can be no better commentary upon his life than his own words upon his deathbed. "Do you forgive your enemies?" his confessor asked. "I never had any," was the reply, "except those of the state."

CHAPTER VIII

Gustavus Adolphus (A.D. 1594–1632)

The history of Sweden as a northern power begins with the reign of Gustavus Vasa, who overthrew the Danish domination and secured his own proclamation as king of Sweden on 23 June, 1523. He was the descendant of an old Swedish family of noble rank, and was about thirty years of age when he came to the throne. He found the resources of the country at a very low ebb. The struggle against Christian II of Denmark had burdened him with heavy debts. He owed his success, in large measure, to popular support, which was led by the people of Dalecarlia, the central province of the country, and he was therefore able to regard the problem of reconstruction from the point of view of the people rather than of the nobles or the clergy. The nobles declined to recognize the authority of the Crown when they preferred their own interests or convenience; the clergy enjoyed enormous privileges, power, and property, and both classes oppressed the peasantry severely and impartially. Gustavus Vasa resolved to make Sweden a Lutheran country. He was not a particularly religious man, although he was fully acquainted with the Lutheran doctrines, but he saw that if the Crown could possess the property of the Church it would gain the necessary resources for a strong government, and would also deprive the nobles of one means of support. Moreover, the Roman Catholic clergy were invariably hostile to him, as they desired to maintain the union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms which he had broken. In these reforms Gustavus was supported by the main body of the nation, and eventually every class in Sweden came to realize that they had a ruler who would suppress revolt and party struggles, reform abuses, and increase the wealth and prosperity of the nation. To this latter purpose the king devoted his chief attention. Mines, fisheries, and commerce were steadily encouraged; with his own hands he drew up circulars dealing with the improvement of agricultural operations, and sent them out to the different parishes of the country. In this way, and by the conclusion of commercial treaties with Russia, France, and the Netherlands, he became the founder of Swedish commerce and a serious rival to the supremacy in the Baltic of the Hanseatic League. For the last twenty years of his reign his kingdom was undisturbed by revolt, and he left to his successors a well-filled treasury and an efficient army of nearly 16,000 men.

Gustavus had been thrice married, and had left four sons, Eric, John, Magnus, and Charles. Eric became his successor, but Gustavus had given certain territorial rights to the three younger children. His

eldest son had early shown symptoms of the insanity which afterwards troubled him, and Gustavus was anxious to secure his younger children against possible ill treatment from their elder brother. Disagreement between Eric and John soon broke out. The latter had married Catherine, the daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, and thus initiated a connection of a most disastrous nature to Sweden. Quarrels broke out between John and his brother concerning the government of Livonia and John's tenure of the duchy of Finland, to which his father had presented him. Eric eventually kept him in captivity for four years, and meanwhile expended his father's fortune upon marriage projects which, however diplomatically suggested, were most undiplomatically negotiated. His proposals for the hand of Queen Elizabeth were opened by the dispatch of large and costly presents, and by provision for liberal bribes, if necessary. At the same time he was making overtures to Mary of Scotland and to Princess Christina of Hesse. Eventually he married a servant girl of his own country, at the time when he was engaged in war with Poland and Denmark. This struggle had been the result of the quarrel with John about Livonia, a country which might have been either Russian or Polish, but which certainly, at that time, had no reason to become Swedish. Poland, when threatened with an infringement of her rights, turned for help to Denmark, and hence the beginning of Eric's marriage intrigues. The question of Baltic supremacy concerned the whole of Europe, and while English sympathies were with Sweden and Russia, Spain and the emperor took the other side, and their suggestion that the king of Denmark should contract a marriage with Mary Stuart probably induced Eric to offer proposals to Elizabeth. Eric's symptoms of insanity became more marked, the war was a failure, and was unpopular with the Swedish nobles; in 1567 Eric was deposed by a revolution, and John seized the power.

John was an even more incompetent ruler than Eric. Poland was a Catholic country, and though John never openly broke with Lutheranism he was as much a Catholic as he dared to be. He made peace with Denmark, and fought with Russia and Poland in order to maintain his son's claims to the latter country, and these he eventually secured by dint of bribes and intrigues. This son, Sigismund, was accepted by the Poles only upon condition that he became a Catholic, and if he followed his father upon the Swedish throne it seemed that Sweden would be forced to change her religion, in which case the northern balance of power would be completely overturned. John had already attempted to prepare the way for this change, but whatever the views of his nobles may have been, the people at large were hard-shell Protestants, and John was obliged to abandon this attempt. He died in 1592, and his son, Sigismund of Poland, became his legal heir, Sigismund's uncle, Charles, waiving his own claims in favour of his nephew. At the same time Charles had wielded the real governmental power for the few years immediately before John's death, and though he was now acting as regent there seems to be

little doubt that he eventually proposed to become king. That he and not Sigismund should rule was in accordance with the interests of Sweden. Charles was himself a confirmed Lutheran, and when Sigismund proceeded to appoint Catholic governors to every province in Sweden he demonstrated his inability to appreciate the feelings of the country. To rule countries so far distant as Poland and Sweden, the one being Catholic and the other Protestant, was a total impossibility for such a man as Sigismund, and would have proved a difficult task for the most capable of rulers. The peasants of Dalecarlia, the province which, upon a former occasion, had exerted a decisive influence upon the destinies of the country, issued a petition declaring that there should be one king in Sweden, and that Sigismund had forfeited the crown. When Sigismund proceeded to gather troops for the purpose of forcing Charles to abandon the regency, his uncle was prepared to lead a revolution. In 1598 he totally defeated his nephew, and in the following year Sigismund was formally deposed. This was the opening stage of a conflict which was concluded only with the reign of Charles XII. Sigismund and his descendants became entirely Polish, and any chance that they might have had of returning to Protestant Sweden soon disappeared. In 1604 Charles was crowned king, and the crown was entailed upon his son, Gustavus Adolphus and his descendants, on the condition that they were Protestants. It was also declared that Sweden should never be united with another kingdom under another Crown.

Charles restored order in the country and proved a capable administrator of domestic affairs, improving commerce and promoting any movement which he thought would increase the prosperity of the kingdom. He was constantly involved in war with Denmark and Russia or Poland. In 1595 he had forced Russia to cede Esthonia and Narva to Sweden. War with Denmark was largely due to the ambition of the Danish king, Christian IV, who thought that the old age of Charles and the youth of Gustavus would enable him to recover some of the Baltic commerce for his own country and inflict a blow on Sweden. The conduct of this war was left in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus upon the death of Charles in 1611. To Gustavus, Charles left a strong and united kingdom; he had also made endeavours to secure the friendship of all the leading Protestant powers. Overtures had been made to Holland and England, and would have been made to France had not Henry IV fallen by the dagger of an assassin.

Gustavus Adolphus was born in 1594. Little need be said of his childhood, and the usual stories that are told of the youth of heroes are in this case neither interesting nor instructive. Charles was a cultured man himself, and he took care that his son should have an excellent education. Gustavus could speak four languages when he grew up, and had a working knowledge of two or three more. His letters, in fact, are often an extraordinary hotch-potch of any languages that happened to be running in his head when he wrote. From his earliest years his father had accustomed him to conduct government business;

he was present at councils, ambassadors' audiences, journeys of inspection, and reviews. Military exercises and hunting were the only amusements for which Gustavus cared. At the age of fifteen he was even anxious to be placed in command of the army then operating against Russia. Soldiers of fortune were constantly to be seen at the court of Charles, for after the death of Philip II of Spain in 1598 the Spaniards began to withdraw from Holland, and a large number of needy adventurers were left without employment. It was obvious that the struggle of Protestant Sweden against Catholic Poland might develop into a European war, and those who were willing to fight on the side of Protestantism for pay therefore came to Stockholm to offer their services. Thus Gustavus lived in a military atmosphere until he came to the throne at the age of seventeen. Legally he was a minor, but two months later the Diet of the country gave the reins of government into his hands.

Young as he was, he had an exceedingly difficult situation to confront. For more than fifty years his country had been constantly disturbed by revolt and revolution within and by wars without. The questions of foreign policy before him were of far-reaching importance. There was the possession of Livonia, which was the key to the kingdom of Poland; there was the Danish or Swedish supremacy of the Baltic, and the dynastic quarrel between the Polish and Swedish branches of the House of Vasa. These were questions not only of local but of European importance. The well-known saying of Gustavus himself: "All European wars hang together", was plainly true even at this date. Norway and Denmark were united under one king, and Denmark had two strong fortresses on either side of the Sound, and thus commanded the only passage from the Baltic to the North Sea that Sweden could have used. Moreover, Sweden's three southern provinces were at that time in the hands of the Danes. Hence Sweden's only outlet from the North Sea was through Gothenburg, which had recently been founded by Charles. The Danes levied heavy tolls upon commerce entering the Sound, and yet demanded free commercial access to the Swedish possessions in Esthonia, and afterwards in Livonia. The war with Denmark was a heavy burden to Sweden, not only in view of their respective positions on the sea, but also because it was necessary to defend the long frontier separating Sweden from Norway. On the other hand, the Danish king was by no means so absolute a monarch as Charles and Gustavus were. Christian IV, like his predecessors, was constantly at variance with his nobles, and could never be sure that any policy which he might initiate would command the support of the country. Equally necessary was it to keep a careful eye upon the action of Russia and Poland. If Sweden was to secure any command of the Baltic commerce she must prevent the western expansion of Russia, and this could only be done by securing some bulwark on the eastern Baltic. Hence the importance to Sweden of the provinces of Esthonia and Livonia, and afterwards of Ingria and Courland. Moreover, if Poland wished to recover the Swedish throne,

the possession of Livonia was indispensable as a preliminary step. In this struggle the Electorate of Brandenburg might have been a valuable ally to either party, and as Brandenburg was a Protestant power it seemed to be the natural ally of Sweden. The elector, however, was indifferent or apathetic, and had no desire to launch into a foreign policy of any kind. Poland's purpose, therefore, was to secure the goodwill of Brandenburg, which it could not hope to attack with any success. In this situation lay the germs of the struggle which afterwards brought Gustavus to the help of European Protestantism, but the ultimate cause of his advance into Germany must be sought in the Polish problem.

At the outset of his reign Gustavus was obliged to deal with Denmark, which possessed two fortresses most important to Sweden, Calmar and Elfsborg, lying respectively upon the Baltic and the North Sea, and reasonably regarded by Gustavus as the keys to his kingdom. Throughout the year 1612 the war raged with great loss and devastation but no decisive result. The king nearly lost his life during a fierce combat upon a frozen lake, when his horse broke through the ice and he was only saved by the bravery of two young Swedes, one of whom, Peter Banèr, afterwards became his chamberlain, and acted as chancellor at home in later years during the absence of the famous Oxenstierna. The Danes, however, found it impossible to effect any permanent occupation of Sweden, in view of the patriotism and energy of the Swedish peasantry, who were inspired by real affection for Gustavus. Christian IV, moreover, was troubled by disturbances at home, and eventually both sides accepted the mediation of his brother-in-law, James I of England. By the terms of the Peace then drawn up, Sweden was to retain Calmar, while Elfsborg was to be held by Denmark for six years, during which time Sweden had the option of paying 1,000,000 thalers for its redemption. Gustavus was able to raise this sum within two years, and thus possessed the much-desired fortresses, and also a guarantee that the two kingdoms should enjoy unrestricted freedom of commerce between themselves and through the Sound.

Next came the conclusion of the war with Russia. Sweden held a large area of what is now Russian territory. Russia was at that time troubled by disturbances concerning the succession to the throne, and, disliking a Polish claimant, had sent an embassy to Charles IX about the close of his reign to seek a Swedish prince as a sovereign. Both Gustavus and Oxenstierna saw that Sweden must secure a firm position on the Continent south of the Baltic if it were to be free from Danish aggression. Gustavus therefore resolved to make good his footing in that direction at the expense of Russia. The war continued for some four years, with advantages chiefly upon the side of the Swedes, and the young monarch gained an amount of military experience which he was afterwards to turn to the best account. In 1617 a treaty was signed, and Russia ceded to Sweden the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, which thus formed a barrier between herself and

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, KING OF SWEDEN

From the painting by Van Dyck in the Munich Gallery

the sea. As Gustavus wrote to his mother, these provinces were also the keys of Finland and Livonia, and, to quote his own words: "If at any time Russia should get them back and learn her strength she would be able not only to attack Finland on both sides but also to set such a fleet upon the Baltic as would endanger our Fatherland". Thus Gustavus states the problem which Peter the Great realized and solved, and which Charles XII entirely failed to appreciate.

Shortly after the end of the Russian war the young king found that a further struggle with Poland was before him. Sweden at this moment was in an exhausted condition. The strain of past conflicts had been heavy, and the advantages for the most part were rather in the future than immediate. In 1617, immediately after the peace with Russia, Gustavus heard that Sigismund was sending troops to disturb the Swedish occupation of Livonia. At the end of 1618 he concluded a two years' truce, which was afterwards prolonged until the middle of 1621. Meanwhile he thought it advisable to make some diplomatic preparations for the coming onslaught, and the most obvious method of securing allies was by means of marriage. He had already, even before his accession, fallen profoundly in love with Ebba Brahe, the daughter of a high official whose wife was allied to the Vasa family. In 1612, after he had been nearly a year on the throne, the king definitely proposed a marriage between himself and this lady. The proposal met with the strongest opposition from his mother and his political advisers, of whom Oxenstierna was the chief. During the absence of Gustavus in the Danish campaign the queen induced Ebba Brahe to marry one of the most distinguished Swedish generals, Jacob de la Gardie, in 1618. It was then possible to consider an alliance elsewhere. Maria Eleonora, the daughter of the elector of Brandenburg, seemed a suitable choice, and after Gustavus had made two secret visits to Berlin, to inspect the bride, the arrangements were concluded, and the marriage took place in 1620. Thus Gustavus was more closely linked to the fortunes of German Protestantism, and in the following year he began his campaign against Poland. Gustavus was willing to continue the truce that had already been arranged, for another ten years, leaving the frontiers substantially as they were in 1600, and allowing Sigismund to use the title of king of Sweden on the understanding that it carried no right to the throne. These conditions the Poles declined, and the Swedish king informed them that he intended to carry on the war. His first attack was directed upon the city of Riga. Before the army started, and while its transport was delayed by contrary winds, Gustavus published his new articles of war. These described the arrangements for military trials, and the punishments appointed for various offences. An illustration of the spirit in which warfare was conducted was the article providing that a squadron of cavalry or a regiment of infantry taking flight during an engagement, except when reduced to dire extremities, should suffer the penalty of decimation. The siege of Riga lasted for more than a month, and Sigismund was not capable of sending

any effective help, as he already had a war with the Turks upon his hands. The town surrendered in the middle of September; Gustavus then overran Courland, captured Mittau, and returned to Sweden for the winter. In the course of the campaign his brother, Prince Charles Philip, died of sickness, to his great grief. In 1622 Sigismund agreed to the conclusion of a new truce on the basis of the *status quo*, leaving Sweden in possession of whatever ground she had gained. This armistice was prolonged until 1625, and gave time for Gustavus to pay some attention to his domestic administration and to think of the great problems of the future.

The Thirty Years' War had now broken out. The principle settled by the religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, under the principle, *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, that every prince should have the right to make his own religion the worship of his people, proved a failure because its toleration extended merely to princes and governments; the people eventually had no freedom of choice, and were obliged to think and believe as their prince thought and believed. Moreover, there were in this treaty certain defective articles which were bound to be a source of discord. The clause, for instance, known as the "Ecclesiastical Reservation", provided that any spiritual prince holding immediately from the empire should give up his office and his lands upon turning Protestant. The Lutherans would not admit the validity of the article, and their evasion of it became a subject of bitter complaint. The provisions concerning the secularization of Church property were variously interpreted by the two parties, and the general principle, allowing each prince to maintain within his dominions whichever of the two religions he pleased, gave rise to much heartburning and even to considerable hardship. The two immediate successors to Charles V as emperor, Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, succeeded in maintaining the spirit of toleration, which increased the spread of Protestantism, until 1576. Rudolph II, who became emperor in that year, began a persecution of the Protestants in Hungary and Bohemia, with the result that the Evangelical Union was formed, nominally headed by the Elector Palatine and opposed by the Catholic League under Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, which was formed in 1609. The material thus prepared for conflagration was fired by an outburst in Bohemia, where, in consequence of a dispute, the Protestants rose in revolt against their Catholic king, Ferdinand, in 1618, electing a new Protestant king, Frederick V, Elector Palatine and son-in-law of James I of England. In the following year Ferdinand, the Catholic king, was elected emperor as Ferdinand II, and supported as he was by the other Catholic states it was no difficult matter for him to crush the Protestant insurrection. Frederick IV was driven out and Protestantism in Bohemia suffered a crushing blow. The Protestants had no doubt expected some help from England, but none was forthcoming, and even Gustavus was unwilling to help them unless Holland and England could be persuaded to join. He knew that he was upon the point of war with Poland, and, upon his principle that all European

wars hang together, he thought he might thus be making a diversion in favour of Ferdinand. By the year 1625 the Protestant powers in the north and in Germany were filled with the liveliest apprehensions when they saw that a zealous and powerful Catholic at the head of the empire was prepared to follow in the footsteps of Charles V. Unfortunately the Protestants were by no means united upon the policy which they were to pursue. None of them could act alone. Sweden, for instance, could not attack the emperor in Spain without a large amount at least of pecuniary help from elsewhere—Poland and her own coast defences would absorb all her resources. Denmark was in a very similar situation; the Dutch Netherlands were largely absorbed in their commercial pursuits; while England had no immediate interest in the question, and was, moreover, thwarted by the jealousy of France, just as Richelieu was hampered by the blundering policy of Buckingham. Moreover, Gustavus saw that many of the Protestant leaders did not seem to understand the situation: Count Mansfeld, for instance, and Christian of Anhalt were anxiously negotiating with France, England, and Holland to raise a force for the purpose of restoring Frederick to the throne of Bohemia. This, however, was only a side issue. Gustavus, like Richelieu, could very well see that the balance of power in Europe must be restored, and that this could only be done by attacking Austria and Spain at some vital point; then the aspirations of the house of Hapsburg to European domination might at last be checked. From the Swedish point of view more particularly the war interested them as being almost a struggle in defence of their country. As the king said to the Swedish Estates in 1630: "This is a war for the defence of our Fatherland. Either we must go to find the emperor at Stralsund or he will come and find us at Calmar." He therefore required some bulwark south of the Baltic which might be used as an outwork for his own country. In the course of negotiations with England in 1624 he declined to enter upon a war unless he was assured of a port south of the Baltic or in the North Sea as a base of operations. He also required a large subsidy, the English fleet was to enter the Sound and keep Denmark quiet, and he was to have absolute command of all the forces raised by himself or his allies. Christian IV sent ambassadors to London, who there met those of Gustavus, and after a considerable amount of haggling Christian persuaded England to support him. Gustavus offered to help Denmark, on conditions which seemed reasonable, but was unable to secure any agreement and therefore regarded co-operation for the moment as impossible and proceeded to invade Courland in 1625. The Polish generals were defeated, and in the following year he made an attempt to seize Dantzig, the possession of which would enable him to cut off Poland from the sea. For the purpose of this campaign in 1626 he entered the duchy of Prussia, the territory of his own brother-in-law. Charles William, the elector, was very anxious to be left alone. Gustavus did his best to make him understand that neutrality was impossible; Prussia must side either with

himself or with Poland. In the course of his campaign he overran the northern half of western Prussia, which was really a Polish province, captured the Vistula above Dantzig, and was able to cut off supplies from the interior of the country. The inhabitants were nearly all Lutherans, and regarded Gustavus as their deliverer from the persecutions of Sigismund.

Meanwhile Gustavus had begun the siege of Dantzig, a port which could always be provisioned from the sea so long as the opposing fleet was too weak to maintain an effective blockade. Sigismund collected a body of troops to relieve Dantzig, including 5000 Austrian auxiliaries. The elector, Charles William, was also induced to take sides against his brother-in-law, but when Gustavus had captured the whole of his little army he once more thought neutrality the preferable course. The king was twice wounded in the course of the siege, but at last, after a naval conflict, the blockading fleet of the Swedes was dispersed and Dantzig remained untaken. Such was the situation in 1627. Meanwhile Christian IV of Denmark had appeared as the champion of German Protestantism, and had taken the field against two such notable commanders as Tilly and Wallenstein. In 1626 his ally and supporter, Mansfeld, had been defeated by Wallenstein, and four months later the king of Denmark was utterly routed by Tilly at the battle of Lutter. After this disaster, when it seemed likely that Spain would advance to the Baltic, Christian sent to Gustavus for help; but the Swedish king was too busily engaged in Prussia to turn his attention elsewhere. In 1627 Christian had been forced to retreat to his own territories, and Wallenstein and Tilly were able to reach the Baltic. There seems little doubt that Wallenstein's ideas and the plans of the Hapsburgs at this moment were aimed at a European monarchy. The free states of the north, the members of the Hanseatic League, were to be destroyed; Denmark was to be bought or conquered, Gustavus to be contained or Poland assisted to crush him, and the Baltic trade cut off from Holland.

In 1628 Wallenstein proposed an attack upon Mecklenburg, which was admirably situated as a base for his proposed Baltic fleet, possessing, as it did, two of the best harbours in that sea. Public opinion in Germany, however, began to cry out against such aggression. Both Catholics and Protestants considered that Wallenstein was growing unduly powerful, and Wallenstein himself came to the conclusion that peace with Christian of Denmark was advisable. He therefore concluded the Treaty of Lübeck, in 1629, and began to overrun Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Some towns made preparations for defence, among others Stralsund. Meanwhile Gustavus was preparing for his third Polish campaign, and was in receipt of messages both from Holland and the elector of Brandenburg urging him to make peace with Poland and defend the Baltic. Negotiations proceeded very slowly while Gustavus continued his operations. He defeated the Dantzig squadron and again blockaded the town, but the Polish army avoided engagements by land. He also proposed a mutual alliance

JOHANN TSERKLAES, COUNT OF TILLY

ALBRECHT VON WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND

From colour sketches by Van Dyck at Munich

to Christian of Denmark, and spoke in terms which showed his realization of the fact that he could no longer avoid intervention in Germany. As usual, conflicting interests upon special points made agreement difficult: Gustavus would have liked to see a general alliance of all Protestants for the purpose of attacking the house of Hapsburg; Christian wanted someone who could recover the territory which he had lost. At length a treaty was signed under which Christian promised to exclude from the Sound all foreign ships except those of Holland and of the Hanseatic League. Wallenstein had now begun the siege of Stralsund. It was a town of considerable strength, and both Gustavus and Christian did what they could to reinforce it. Eventually Wallenstein was forced to raise the siege, and this failure clearly denoted that his dreams of a Spanish or Austrian domination of the Baltic were impracticable.

Even during the siege of Stralsund, Gustavus had been of the opinion that an offensive war in Germany was more likely to produce important and permanent results than a merely defensive attitude upon the Baltic shores. He wrote to Oxenstierna on 5 March, 1628, as follows:—

You are of opinion that it is necessary to continue offensive war in the Prussian duchy, and to defend ourselves merely against Wallenstein by putting a garrison in Stralsund, opposing to him our fleet, and destroying his vessels in the ports. I do not share this opinion; for, as I see by your letters, there is not a sufficiency of food in Prussia for the troops; and if one took there an army, he would have to combat, in the midst of scarcity, a formidable enemy. But to make an offensive war in Prussia my presence is necessary; and circumstances do not permit me to plunge myself in that country, and remove myself from the Baltic and from my fleet. We will, then, make only a defensive war for the approaching year in that country; and I expect to gain the means, especially if the Pillau customs duties are well paid. You believe it would be better to make a defensive war in Germany, and, as our ancestors destroyed the power of Russia in Livonia by the capture of Revel, you suppose that we could strike down that of the emperor through the city of Stralsund. It is true that comparison is very just; but the circumstances are not the same, for the Russians had not a boat nor a sailor to injure us on the sea, whilst the enemy who is before us has every kind of resource with which to equip a fleet; his preparations are completed; there is wanting to him only the men who know the sea, so that we know not if we are in advance or behind him as to time. What advantages should we gain by the occupation of Stralsund if the enemy were master on the sea? It is also impossible to destroy his vessels in the ports, for, according to what the king of Denmark sends me, he has fortified them in such a manner that we cannot there attack him. If one tries not to take his ports by land forces I see not the means of long defending the kingdom. It would not be well to transport into Sweden the seat of war, for we are never more feeble than in our own country. You know the extent of our coasts and the number of ports we have to defend. I am in accordance with you, that it is scarcely possible to make war in Germany; nevertheless, if we gain the advantage, I do not believe we shall be so poor that we cannot have some resource. Spens, besides, makes me hope that I could draw something from England. Camerius announces

to us that the States-General ask the renewal of our alliance. The Hanseatic cities are undecided; assistance will come from that source if we should succeed. It is this which has determined me to attempt everything to form an army. We cannot take away a strong army, because it is necessary to keep many infantry in Sweden to observe Denmark. It will be necessary, then, to employ especially foreigners. We think, however, to put in campaign fifteen thousand foot and nine thousand horse. And though you object to the feebleness of our army and the force of the two armies of the enemy, it is well that you should consider that he has an extensive country to occupy, and many cities to guard, which requires a large number of soldiers. It is not well to lose sight that the power of the enemy is more in fame than in the reality, and that the loss of a single battle would render his position very critical. To this it is well to add that the army of Tilly is very distant, and that the fortune of war may be decided in Pomerania before he can come to the assistance of Wallenstein.

Before he decided to enter Germany, Gustavus made all possible preparations to secure his rear and to maintain peace at home. He endeavoured to induce the Hanseatic League to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him. In this he failed, though they were willing to act in their own defence. In 1629 a six years' truce was concluded between Sweden and Poland. Sweden retained the whole of Livonia and every place of importance to her in the duchy of Prussia, while Dantzig undertook to pay Sweden two-thirds of the harbour dues levied upon commerce. This treaty was concluded through the good offices of France. Richelieu, in his memoirs, credits himself with the fact that his efforts had succeeded in inducing Gustavus to oppose the rising power of the house of Hapsburg. We have already sufficiently seen that Sweden required little persuasion from France to act as she did. Meanwhile Denmark had concluded a treaty with the German emperor through Wallenstein, of which the king of Sweden was unable to secure any modification in his own interests. Denmark recovered her lost territory, and undertook not to interfere in German affairs except where the interests of the duchy of Holstein were concerned. "This wretched prince", wrote Richelieu, "has betrayed all his allies and emerged from the war untouched." He went on to speak of the king of Sweden as the "new rising sun". Wallenstein had begun to appreciate his importance more clearly, and no doubt was anxious to detach him from a possible alliance with Denmark. It was Wallenstein who first applied to Gustavus the contemptuous term, the "Snow King", as if he would melt in the course of his march southward; but his tone soon changed and became, if not respectful, at any rate anxious. Richelieu had captured La Rochelle three months after Wallenstein's repulse from Stralsund; he was now, therefore, no less free than Gustavus to interfere in German affairs. Such interference as he attempted, however, was cautiously made, and was dictated merely by his desire to secure the political aggrandizement of France. The success of the Swedes caused him great anxiety, and it can hardly be doubted that the eventual death of Gustavus at Lützen came to him as a relief.

The motives of Gustavus himself are more obscure. Primarily they were certainly political. He believed himself to be waging a life-and-death struggle to defend the prosperity of his country. How far this was reinforced by his desire to help his co-religionists in Germany can hardly be stated. His own character was deeply religious, as may be seen from the tone of his dispatches, but it seems at least clear that he did not enter upon this expedition solely in the spirit of a crusader. No less obscure is the nature of his ultimate intentions. He saw, as everybody could see, the corrupt condition of the German empire, but whether he thought that it could be reconstructed upon a Protestant basis, or whether the future head of the reconstructed empire was to be himself, are questions impossible to answer. At any rate he wanted Pomerania as a bulwark for Sweden, and a guarantee of her position on the Baltic. In possession of that province Sweden would have a voice in the decisions of the German Diet, and be able to make her influence felt should Protestants hereafter be oppressed. In his own country, when dealing with his Estates, he said little about the religious aspect of the question, and confined his remarks to the political dangers which threatened his country. Money and supplies were voted with hardly a dissentient voice, and all representatives displayed their readiness to make every sacrifice for the cause which the king had laid before them. Gustavus, as we have seen, was obliged to rely upon himself and the resources of his own country. France thought his terms too high, though he had her moral support, and though Richelieu was able to increase the dissensions between Ferdinand and the German electors. Holland was hostile to him because she felt that Sweden was a rival for the Baltic trade. Denmark was out of the question, and the Protestant princes in Germany showed great apathy, and were only too ready to allow someone else to fight their battles. Some of them, indeed, were inclined to support the emperor. The elector of Saxony, John George, the most powerful Protestant prince in north Germany, had declared his intention of so doing. But he and other electors were beginning to regard the rise of Wallenstein and his military power with considerable apprehension.

Wallenstein is one of the most enigmatical characters in the whole history of the period, and Schiller's famous tragedy gives a reading of his character historically doubtful. He appeared to combine the superstition of the Dark Ages with the statesmanship of the nineteenth century and a generalship by no means inferior to that of Gustavus himself. Born in Bohemia, of Lutheran parents possessing a small estate, he was left an orphan at the age of twelve, and educated by his uncle. The chief noble families of Bohemia at that time were Protestants, and Wallenstein's ambition speedily perceived that his chance of promotion would best be found among the Catholic adherents of the empire. He took service with Ferdinand and rapidly acquired a reputation as a capable officer. At the battle of Prague, when Bohemian Protestantism was crushed, he served as a colonel, gained his promotion, and was in command of the force which afterwards defeated the Hungarian allies

of the Bohemians. The emperor rewarded him with a grant of large estates in Bohemia, confiscated from their Protestant owners. Wallenstein's ambition increased with success, and he resolved to advance himself by making the emperor more powerful. Apparently his policy was to secure a strong central monarchy for the whole of Germany. His vast wealth enabled him to make the bold proposal to the emperor that he should raise a large and efficient army at his own expense. The emperor thus became independent of Maximilian of Bavaria, of whose successful general, Tilly, Wallenstein was considerably jealous. By gifts of money, and by his readiness to promote merit and his skill in organization, he gained a reputation which made soldiers anxious to enter his service, and was thus able to raise an army with surprising rapidity at need. Neither the count of Mansfeld nor Christian of Brunswick was so successful in this respect, and even their methods of supporting their forces from the countries through which they marched were surpassed by Wallenstein. Ferdinand could not disregard the disaffection of the electors, and their dislike of Wallenstein's eminence. He was particularly anxious to see his son elected king of the Romans, and he conceived a brilliant idea for recovering the favour of the electors. The imperial courts were filled with a constant succession of suits between Protestants and Catholics, who claimed either the secularization of ecclesiastical territory or the recovery of it for purposes of Catholicism. The difficulties which arose in consequence of the fact that in many bishoprics the ecclesiastical chapter survived side by side with the lay administrator had been in no way settled by the Peace of Augsburg. Ferdinand considered that he might gain sufficient votes to secure the election of his son by proclaiming the edict known as the Edict of Restitution, which asserted that all legal disputes since the Peace of Passau were to be ended in favour of Catholics. There were but two Protestant electors who were likely to cause any trouble; they could be easily outvoted, and, if necessary, defeated in the field. Hence, on 6 March, 1629, Ferdinand issued his Edict of Restitution. All former bishoprics held immediately from the empire were to be restored, with all ecclesiastical lands which had been secularized since the Peace of Passau. Wallenstein strongly objected to the promulgation of this edict. Religious dissensions seem to have had but little interest for him, and the exasperation which the edict would cause was likely to check for ever his projects of a unified German empire. Moreover, the edict proved of no advantage to Ferdinand. When the Catholic electors met in 1630 they demanded that the emperor should make peace with France and stop the Italian war, a demand inspired by the diplomacy of Richelieu; and further, that he should reduce his army and dismiss Wallenstein. The emperor, whose mind was set upon the election, obeyed; Wallenstein was dismissed, 40,000 of his men were handed over to Tilly, and the remainder were disbanded. Thus did the emperor proceed to disarm himself at the very moment when his most formidable enemy was approaching against him.

Gustavus embarked his fleet on 30 May, 1630. For some weeks he

was delayed by contrary winds, but at length he effected a landing near the westernmost mouth of the Oder, upon the Island of Rügen. He immediately fortified a temporary camp and disembarked his army. To estimate the numbers which he put into the field is not easy; he was himself anxious to conceal his exact strength from the enemy. Probably he had some 40,000 native Swedish troops and nearly as many from foreign countries. Prominent among these were the Scotch, who had been in the habit of fighting as mercenaries in France and the Netherlands, and who on this occasion were supported by two English regiments. The Scotchman, Monroe, who has left an account of his experiences, was struck by the great care which Gustavus showed in entrenching himself. In the course of his campaign the Swedish king himself was surprised at the readiness with which the enemy evacuated positions which he could have made defensible in a short time. No doubt one of the causes of his success was the attention which he had paid to the sapper's art. Pomerania, at the time when Gustavus landed, was overrun by some 16,000 men, part of Wallenstein's army, under an Italian, Conti, who gave his men full licence to devastate the country. They made no attempt to oppose the Swedish landing, and Gustavus was soon able to join hands with his forces at Stralsund and secure his hold on the mouths of the Oder. But the real key to this river was Stettin, and thither he now advanced. Bogislav XIV, duke of Pomerania, felt himself between the upper and the nether millstone. Much as he hated the devastations of the imperial troops, he felt himself too weak to break with the emperor. Gustavus plainly informed him that if he did not surrender Stettin it would be taken from him by force, but that if he would sign a treaty, his duchy should be restored to him at the close of the war. The duke had no choice in the matter, and Gustavus thus covered his rear and secured his communications with Sweden within fifteen days of his landing in Germany. Many of the Pomeranians entered the service of Gustavus, disgusted as they were with the atrocities of their imperial protectors. A large number of the disbanded soldiers of Wallenstein also joined the Swedes. Conti made little attempt to obstruct the progress of the Swedes, and assumed that they would, as usual, go into winter quarters. He found that he had to deal with an enemy for whom winter had no terrors, and was obliged to retreat.

Meanwhile the emperor had ordered Tilly to advance upon the king of Sweden. Tilly was descended from a noble Walloon family in Liége, and had learnt the art of war in the Netherlands school, then regarded as the nursery of successful soldiers. He saw service in Hungary, eventually took a commission under Maximilian of Bavaria, and was largely instrumental in organizing and disciplining the Bavarian army which had made Maximilian so important a supporter of the house of Austria. After helping Ferdinand to crush the Bohemians he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the troops of the Catholic League. His zeal for Catholicism and his fanatical ardour

had made him a terror to Protestants, but his military experience taught him not to despise the new enemy whom he was now to confront. He spoke of Gustavus as "a gamester in playing with whom not to have lost is to have won a great deal". Tilly advanced against the Swedish army from lower Germany, and as he approached Magdeburg the proscribed administrator of that diocese, the Margrave Christian William of Brandenburg, induced the citizens of Magdeburg to declare for the Swedes, somewhat against the advice of Gustavus, who was still separated from the town by a considerable expanse of hostile territory. He was obliged to clear the ground as he advanced in order to secure his communications, and during that winter at least, he was unable to move far beyond Pomerania. In the course of the autumn he had blockaded Colberg, and captured this and other important places by the end of the following spring. In January, 1631, he concluded the Truce of Subsidies with France, under which he was to receive 120,000 thalers for the past year and 400,000 for the following five years. He undertook to keep at least 30,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry in the field, to respect the neutrality of Catholic principalities, and to secure religious toleration in the Catholic districts which he conquered. Thus, while Richelieu made head against the house of Austria and Spain, he also attempted to safeguard the interests of his own Church. The capture of Demmin provided Gustavus with a large supply of munitions of war, although he had allowed the garrison to march out of the town, as he wished to free his rear for the advance upon Tilly. He had now overrun the whole of Pomerania, and in April he arrived before Frankfort-on-the-Oder. On 16 April Landsberg was taken, and Gustavus turned his eyes anxiously towards Magdeburg. No doubt he hoped that the town would be able to sustain a siege until he had fully secured the communications in his rear, and possibly he thought that this latter task was easier than it proved to be. He might also have expected to meet the enemy in a pitched battle at a much earlier date. But the first struggle of the kind did not take place until Gustavus had been in Germany for a year and two months. Tilly at first avoided a conflict in the hope that starvation would break down the Swedish discipline, or that the German people would be glad to buy off their deliverers at any price, which calculations are sufficient in themselves to give some idea of the appalling misery inflicted upon the country by the military devastations of the Thirty Years' War.

Gustavus now wished to occupy Kustrin and Spandau, that he might be better able to render assistance to Magdeburg. This plan implied that he must act either with or against the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. As Protestants they might have been expected to join him, but while they were ready to see the Swedes fight their battles they were anxious to preserve their neutrality if they could. Gustavus terrorized the elector of Brandenburg into a treaty, but he could not move John George of Saxony. At length he determined to use force when news reached him that Magdeburg had fallen.

This event took place on 10 May, 1631, the actual siege having begun in the month of March. Had it not been for a traitorous party within the walls the devoted commander, Falkenberg, might have been enabled to hold out until Gustavus arrived. It was the most important event that had happened in the Thirty Years' War since the battle of Prague. The disaster was imputed to Gustavus as a crime, seeing that the city had raised the standard of revolt in virtue of his promises. He had, however, promised no more than to do his best, and had also enjoined upon the town certain military measures which they had not seen fit to follow. In particular they had disobeyed him by their failure to concentrate such forces as they had around the town. Terribly were they punished for their neglect. Schiller's description of the massacre may be quoted once more.

> Even a more humane general would in vain have recommended mercy to such soldiers, but Tilly never made the attempt. Left, by their general's silence, masters of the lives of all the citizens the soldiers broke into the houses to satiate their most brutal appetites. The prayers of innocence excited some compassion in the hearts of Germans, but none in the rude breasts of Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarcely had the savage cruelty commenced when the other gates were thrown open and the cavalry, with the fearful hordes of the Croats, poured in upon the devoted inhabitants. Then began a scene of horrors for which history has no language and poetry no pencil. Neither innocent childhood nor helpless old age, neither youth, sex, rank, nor beauty could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. No situation, however secure or however sacred, escaped the rapacity of the enemy. In a single church fifty-three women were found beheaded. The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames, Pappenheim's Walloons with stabbing infants at the mother's breast.

If Gustavus had received the energetic support of the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony there is little doubt that Magdeburg would have been saved. The elector of Brandenburg now demanded the return of Spandau on the ground that Gustavus had only been given that fortress in view of his operations upon Magdeburg. Meanwhile Tilly, instead of advancing against him, spent time in oppressing the Protestants of central Germany, and his movements showed Gustavus that he did not intend to utilize to the full the success which the fall of Magdeburg had given him. Gustavus returned northwards, and was busy reinstating the dukes of Mecklenburg in possession of their duchy. He was at this time in considerable straits for want of money and provisions, while disease was rampant among his troops, and in July Tilly appeared before his camp with 22,000 men. Several skirmishes took place, and Tilly was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Meanwhile the elector of Saxony had suddenly changed his views, when he found that the emperor was determined to enforce the Edict of Restitution in his own case. Tilly and his armies were

too strong an argument for John George; he was ordered to abandon all enrolment of troops and to join his forces with those of the emperor for the purpose of driving the Swedes out of Germany. He was to use his influence with other Protestant princes to follow his example, and surrender all the military stores that he had in hand. The elector immediately turned to Gustavus, while Tilly advanced into Saxony and began plundering and ravaging the country. On 1 September John George concluded a treaty with Gustavus, undertaking to give the Swedish king every possible assistance and to leave him in full control of operations, while the Swedes were not to lay down arms until the enemy had been driven from Saxony. The Swedish army then crossed the Elbe to Wittenberg, and four days afterwards joined hands with the Saxon army. Tilly might have made a movement to prevent this junction, but he preferred to secure Leipzig before the allies could garrison it, and then went onwards to Halle. The allies resolved to attack Tilly's army without delay, and the meeting took place at Breitenfeld, not far from Leipzig.

Gustavus was now to win the first of the great victories which made his name famous, and his success here and afterwards was partly due to the changes which he introduced in the art of war. Briefly speaking, his innovations made for mobility as compared with the slower tactics of the Spanish school. In this battle, for instance, Tilly arranged his infantry in unwieldy oblong battalions of some 2000 men, with pikemen in the centre and musketeers on the wing of each battalion. The musketeers fired their charge and then retreated behind the pikemen, who awaited the enemy's onslaught or charged him as circumstances might demand. Gustavus abandoned this system of solid masses, and drew up his men six deep, with pikemen in the centre and musketeers on the wing as before. He also modified the equipment of the cavalry and the use of this arm of the service. When the value of pikemen and their capacity for withstanding a cavalry charge had been realized, cavalry soldiers were used for little else than skirmishing or foraging, and, when they charged the enemy, did little more than ride up to his squares, fire their pistols, and retreat. Gustavus reverted to shock tactics, which were further developed by Rupert and by Cromwell in the civil war. He also succeeded in improving the muskets. The musket, descended from the Spanish arquebus, was a cumbrous weapon, 5 feet in length, and was fired, by resting it on a fork, with a matchlock or flintlock; in damp weather it might take nearly as long to fire as to load. Gustavus succeeded in lightening the musket, and replaced the fork with an iron spike which could also be used for receiving a cavalry charge. He introduced cartridges for loading, and reduced the defensive armour of his musketeers. The Spanish school usually placed their cavalry upon either wing of the infantry; Gustavus generally had a strong force of cavalry in the same position, but he also supported his foot with small bodies of horse behind them, while bodies of musketrymen were interspersed between the horse.

Thus if the enemy's musketeers broke the square of pikemen, one of his cavalry bodies would immediately charge the musketeers and give their own men time to re-form, whereas the Spanish school never had cavalry upon the spot for such a purpose. Finally, Gustavus paid great attention to the manufacture and proper handling of artillery; Swedish artillerists were then famous throughout Europe, and Gustavus always had artillery posted among his troops, whereas his opponents preferred to have theirs upon one of the flanks or upon a line in front. His later pieces could be charged and fired with even more rapidity than the ordinary musket. He was himself a capable shot with a cannon, and attached great importance to accuracy of aim.

On 7 September, therefore, the armies met and the battle began with a two hours' cannonade, in which Tilly's heavier pieces, posted upon a commanding position, did much execution. The dust and smoke blew in the faces of the Swedes and compelled Gustavus to make a half-turn in order to have the wind at the side. Pappenheim, the famous cavalry leader, immediately requested permission to charge, and his veteran Walloons dashed upon the right wing of the Swedes. The Swedish cavalry, with the skilled marksmen between their ranks, repulsed them with great slaughter, and after seven attacks Pappenheim was obliged to abandon his attempt. Tilly then left the higher ground and advanced upon the Swedish centre, where he was received by the deadly fire of the well-handled artillery. He then swung to his right and attacked the Saxon forces, which speedily broke and fled, the rout being led by John George, the elector, in person. Tilly thereupon moved against the Swedish left, against which he turned the Saxon cannon. Meanwhile Gustavus had received news of this disaster and brought more reinforcements from his victorious right and assaulted the high ground where Tilly's artillery was planted, turning upon the imperialists the fire of their own guns. The resulting confusion was increased by the close-packed formation of the Spanish school. The main body of Tilly's troops broke and fled, though a few of his oldest regiments closed their ranks and offered a desperate resistance to the Swedes which was maintained until nightfall, when they retired to Leipzig reduced in numbers to 600. Six thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, 5000 were wounded or captured; the Saxons lost 2000 and the Swedes 700. Tilly himself was severely wounded and barely escaped capture. The moral effect of the victory was immense: it marked a new epoch in the art of war and proclaimed a new era to the oppressed Protestants of Germany. Two generals, the most famous of their day, representing the two parties in Europe inspired by opposite purposes, had met and the Protestant innovator had conquered.

After the battle of Breitenfeld the king held a council of war to decide upon his next movements. There were two alternatives before him. His general, Horn, who was supported by Oxenstierna, urged him to march upon Vienna without delay. The elector of Saxony also supported this view, declaring his own capacity to help the

Protestants in south-west Germany while the king struck at the empire in its vital part. Gustavus was opposed to such a plan, both for military and diplomatic reasons. He did not trust John George, and suspected his intentions of forming a third party and perhaps of making his own terms with the emperor. Moreover, the capture of Vienna did not imply the conquest of Austria. Beyond Vienna was wild and difficult country into which Gustavus would not adventure his army. While he was busy in Austria, Tilly might very easily raise a further force and proceed to oppress the great Protestant towns as before. He therefore resolved to enter Franconia and to operate in the valley of the Main, which was chiefly in the hands of the Catholics. This decision, it may be noted, was by no means pleasing to Richelieu and Louis XIII, who thought that Gustavus was too near to their own frontier. Accordingly Gustavus marched southward and to the right, while John George and his general, Arnheim, set off to the left towards Vienna and Prague. Gustavus met with little opposition in Franconia: Würzburg was stormed; Frankfort-on-Main opened its gates. Supplies for his troops were abundant, and the imperial troops were easily defeated in the few skirmishes which occurred. Tilly had collected a large force and was anxious to try his fortune in another battle, but Maximilian, with very justifiable prudence, declined to risk his fortunes and preferred to play a waiting game. The capture of Mayence brought Gustavus into collision with the Spaniards, and the king was somewhat apprehensive that his action might be tantamount to a declaration of war with Spain. His dispatches urged the Swedish officials at home to be on their guard and look to the defences of the kingdom. Meanwhile Bernard of Weimar had made a successful advance in the Palatinate; in Mecklenburg the Swedish forces had reduced Rostock and were besieging Wismar, while the elector of Saxony, after reducing Leipzig, had marched into Bohemia and entered Prague. At the end of 1631, unwilling to bear the fatigues of a winter campaign, he retired with Arnheim to Dresden. Gustavus had arranged that John George should first invade Silesia and drive the enemy's troops from that province. When Arnheim was requested to explain his contravention of these orders he falsely but ingeniously replied that he had been invited to enter Bohemia by Wallenstein himself. Gustavus and Wallenstein had been in communication for some time previously. The king had thought that he might be induced to enter the Swedish service; the Saxon diplomatists, in their attempts to form a third party, regarded Wallenstein as a very desirable leader. As a matter of fact the negotiations came to nothing, and if Wallenstein contemplated treachery in the summer of 1631 Gustavus felt that he was too dangerous an ally for his purposes and gradually broke off negotiations.

The winter of 1631–2 was spent by Gustavus in Mayence. His soldiers needed a rest after the long campaign, and he was himself fully occupied with diplomatic business. He was surrounded by high officials and foreign ministers. The English ambassador, Richelieu's

agents, the unfortunate Frederick, still hoping to recover his kingdom of Bohemia, and other princes were about his court. The position of Frederick and his kingdom of Bohemia will provide a guiding thread through the intricate diplomatic negotiations which followed. If Frederick was to be restored, the Swedes must first gain possession of Heidelberg, the only place in the lower Palatinate not, as yet, in their power. But an attack here would imply a breach with Spain. If England and Holland had been inclined to help, Gustavus would have risked the venture, but Charles I and his ambassador trifled with the question and actually offered to help the emperor against the Swedes if he would restore Frederick to his kingdom. The English ambassador, therefore, was plainly informed that Gustavus would like to see an English fleet in motion before he made any promises. Again, the restoration of Frederick seemed likely to involve a breach of the alliance with France. The Catholic League was practically dissolved; some of its members had thrown in their lot with France, while others had united with the emperor, where they had not been overthrown by the king of Sweden. Maximilian of Bavaria had been careful to conclude a treaty with France; in fact Richelieu, with his desire to overthrow the Austrian Hapsburgs, would have been equally content to see Maximilian upon the imperial throne. Richelieu considered that his best policy was to induce the princes of the league to remain neutral and allow Ferdinand and Gustavus to fight the matter out. Gustavus, however, would only consent to neutrality upon conditions, and these Maximilian eventually declined to accept, preferring to support the desperate fortunes of Ferdinand. Gustavus insisted that the army of the league should be reduced to 12,000 men and should not leave the territories of the league; that no further assistance should be given to Ferdinand, and that Protestant territories in lower Saxony captured since the beginning of the war should be restored. After some hesitation the members of the league, with the exception of Maximilian, accepted these terms, and Richelieu could only hope that Gustavus would be strong enough to deal with the emperor and Maximilian in conjunction.

At the same time there was some prospect of a general peace. Ferdinand was in great difficulties and unable to find help in any quarter. Poland informed him that no troops could be spared in view of a possible Russian attack. The Pope declined to give him a single farthing, on the ground that the war was not a religious war but a mere attempt to extend Hapsburg influence. Spain was occupied elsewhere, and the Turks were threatening an advance upon Vienna. Gustavus explained upon what terms he would be prepared to make peace—the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, the restoration to the Protestants of all property at any time held by them, and the exclusion of Jesuits from the empire. Spanish troops were to be dismissed, Protestants were to be represented in a proportion of one half in the imperial courts, and there was to be an indemnity for himself. In fact, if peace had been concluded upon these terms, the

general situation would have been left very much as it was afterwards constituted by the Peace of Westphalia. Meanwhile the elector of Saxony, who regarded himself as the leader of Protestantism, had been induced, through his jealousy of Gustavus, to listen to the proposals of Wallenstein. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony agreed that if any peace were made the Swedish king should receive satisfaction in money and not in land, and that under no conditions should he become a prince of the empire. Gustavus was therefore forced to realize that they would not be a support to him in the conduct of these negotiations.

The campaign of 1632 was extended over a wide area. Gustavus had eight armies of different sizes on foot in various parts of Germany, and was constantly obliged to pass from one to the other to bring reinforcements when danger threatened. He was led to leave Mayence by the advance of Tilly, whom Maximilian had sent to relieve Bamberg. The advance of Gustavus forced Tilly to retire upon the Danube in order to cover Bavaria. Gustavus, with the troops of Bernard and Banèr, advanced through Franconia, assured himself of the loyalty of Nuremberg, and proceeded to Donauwörth, at which town he was separated from Bavarian territory only by the little river the Lech. Tilly was entrenched near the confluence of the Lech and the Danube at the small town of Rain. He had destroyed all the bridges and strongly fortified the course of the stream, which was swollen by the spring melting of the snow in the Tyrolese mountains. The Swedish generals urged the king to abandon Tilly and Bavaria and march upon Vienna, but the king insisted that the Lech could be crossed, and relied upon the fact that his own bank was higher than that held by the enemy while his artillery force was unequalled. Under a tremendous artillery fire, and under cover of clouds of smoke produced by burning wet straw, he succeeded in throwing a pontoon bridge across the stream. Tilly was mortally wounded during the cannonade, and Altringer, who took his place, was struck down immediately afterwards. Discouraged by the loss of these famous generals, Maximilian and the Bavarians abandoned the position, and Bavaria was thus thrown open to the advance of Gustavus. He captured Augsburg, the cradle of Protestantism, but was repelled in an attack upon Ingolstadt. He raised the siege and made his way to Munich, which surrendered unconditionally. Maximilian and most of the wealthy inhabitants sought refuge in the mountains. Gustavus exacted a heavy contribution from the city and succeeded in recovering 140 pieces of artillery which had been concealed beneath the floor of the arsenal. After leaving Munich he returned to Nuremberg and spent some time in negotiations with the other free cities, Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Frankfort-on-Main, and Erfurt. At that moment he heard that the duke of Bavaria was advancing to join Wallenstein.

The death of Tilly was the last of a series of disasters which drove Ferdinand to reconsider his attitude towards Wallenstein. His armies had been defeated, his resources crippled, the league was disorganized,

and the capital and territories of his strongest supporter were in the hands of the Swedes. Deeply as Ferdinand must have felt the humiliation, he none the less believed that his only chance of safety was to be found in Wallenstein. There was no other general able to take his place. Pappenheim was an able cavalry leader and a devoted Catholic, but not the man for a general command. Wallenstein had foreseen that this hour must come, and had done his best, by secret conspiracy, to bring it about. While he opened the way, as far as he could, for the Saxon army to ravage Bohemia, his agents at Ferdinand's court were loudly complaining that to the removal of the duke of Friedland were due the misfortunes which had overwhelmed the imperial cause. Ferdinand, however, was well aware of the great wealth and boundless influence of Wallenstein, and only turned to him as a last resource. Wallenstein was equally well aware of Ferdinand's necessities, and dictated his own terms with great coolness. He spoke of the happiness of a country life, the uncertainty of the favour of princes, and his indifference to political ambition and military glory. At length he was induced to accept the chief command for three months, in order that he might show his powers of raising an army in so short a time. Every mercenary soldier who had served under him, and knew his methods of supporting a war, immediately re-entered his service; his old officers emerged from their retirement. The certainty of liberal pay brought thousands from foreign lands, and before the stipulated three months had expired the promised army was raised, consisting of the most villainous collection of ruffians who ever disgraced a European battlefield, but, none the less, well equipped and capably commanded. Wallenstein then retired and left Ferdinand to choose his own commander. As he expected, the emperor begged him to take the command, and after a due amount of haggling Wallenstein undertook to do so upon conditions extraordinarily severe. He was to have sole and unlimited command, and the emperor was not even to appear in person with the army. He was to be rewarded with one of the hereditary territories of Austria, and to be recognized as suzerain over all territories which should be conquered in Germany. The power of life and death was to be in his hands, and he was to be provided with all he required in the way of subsidies and military stores. In short, he was to be a far more powerful personage than the emperor himself. Ferdinand had no choice; he signed the document, doubtless considering that when he had got rid of Gustavus some means would be found of relieving himself of Wallenstein. Wallenstein now attempted to win over the elector of Saxony to his side with offers to guarantee the revocation of the Edict of Restitution. John George, however, forwarded his proposals to the Swedish king, and the Saxons were driven out of Bohemia by the close of May.

When Maximilian of Bavaria had joined Wallenstein, the duke of Friedland commanded an army of 60,000 men, to which Gustavus could oppose but 18,000. He was also informed that Wallenstein proposed

to attack Nuremberg, and he had no intention of allowing that city to suffer the fate of Magdeburg. He called in all his reinforcements from other parts of the country, and at once sent forward his chief engineer to the city to begin the task of fortification. On 19 June, 1532, he reached the town himself, and shortly afterwards the famous city was completely surrounded by a ring of entrenchments in the most approved Swedish fashion. The fortifications had been barely finished when Wallenstein appeared. Maximilian was anxious to make an attack, but Wallenstein knew that his troops, numerous as they were, could not cope with the Swedes in the open field, and he resolved to starve his enemy out. He formed a great entrenched camp to the south of Nuremberg, cutting off the king from his bases of supplies on the Danube and Rhine, while his own Croatian foragers swept the surrounding country bare with far greater skill and determination than any Swedish troops could display. Thus the two armies watched one another for two months, by which time the Swedes were feeling the pinch of hunger severely. The town was crowded with twice its normal population, and the Swedish camp followers numbered nearly as many as the army itself; the air was infected by the carcasses of dead horses, and hunger was soon followed by pestilence. By 12 August Gustavus could command some 20,000 men, as his reinforcements had arrived. It was impossible for him to feed them, and he therefore determined to attack Wallenstein's camp. The rough and broken hills upon which this entrenchment lay were impregnable even to the Swedish infantry. For twelve hours the attempt to storm the position was continued, with fearful slaughter. At one time the Swedes actually obtained a footing upon a point from which they could have raked the whole of Wallenstein's position, but the ground was too steep and too slippery for the artillery to be brought up. The king at length abandoned the attempt, leaving 4000 of his troops dead upon the slopes. He knew that Wallenstein was unable to conduct a siege, as his own army was in nearly as desperate a condition as the Swedish forces. It had been a trial of endurance, and Wallenstein had been able to hold out the longest. Gustavus left a strong garrison in Nuremberg, and marched north-westwards. He then left Bernard in command of the forces in Franconia, sent the rest of his troops to their garrisons, and returned with some 10,000 men beyond the Danube to Ingolstadt. There he was making preparations for a siege, when he was informed that the main army of the emperor had entered Saxony on 5 October. On 8 October he left Bavaria, and in eighteen days was himself in Saxony, to the amazement of Wallenstein, who had no experience of such rapid movements. By 24 October Wallenstein had taken Leipzig, and was advancing upon Dresden when he heard of the arrival of Gustavus. Winter began early in November with such rigour that even Gustavus sent some of his troops into winter quarters. Wallenstein therefore considered that the campaign was over for the year, and sent Pappenheim with 8000 troops to the Lower Rhine, to oppose the Swedish forces threatening Cologne. He then moved slowly towards Lützen. Gustavus determined to attack him before

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS' PRAYER BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN

Photo. Hanfstaengl

From the painting by Louis Braun

Pappenheim could return, and advanced upon Lützen on 5 November. Wallenstein immediately recalled his general, who was then two days' march away. The Swedes were unable to reach Lützen on that day, but at nightfall fell into their places for the next day's battle, and slept through the bitter winter cold waiting for the contest.

The final struggle was fought upon a plain almost entirely flat, divided by the road from Leipzig to Lützen, a road bordered on both sides by ditches. Wallenstein's sappers toiled here all night to make a proper shelter for his musketeers. Wallenstein himself rested his right wing upon the town of Lützen, planting his heavy artillery upon a slight rise near some windmills. In other respects the arrangement of the two armies was much the same as it had been at Breitenfeld in a former year. The morning began with a thick mist, and not until ten o'clock was it possible to see the enemy. After a vigorous cannonade on both sides the Swedes advanced to the edge of the Leipzig road. Then began a series of conflicts, waged with the utmost fury, which centred round the trenches, positions captured and lost by each army in turn. When the Swedes had been driven back from their position the king put himself at the head of a cavalry regiment and led their attack. His horse carried him over the ditch, but few of his followers were able to imitate his leap. His short-sightedness and the increasing thickness of the fog prevented him from seeing to what an extent he was separated from his own troops. He received a musket ball in the arm, and though he attempted to continue the charge he was at length forced, by pain and loss of blood, to allow his colonel to lead him out of the battle. As they were making a detour they encountered a squadron of imperial cuirassiers, who recognized them and at once shot them down. The king's horse, with its empty saddle, galloping along the line proclaimed the loss or death of their monarch to his troops; but the sight inspired them with no other feeling than a wild desire for revenge. In one furious charge the Swedes swept everything before them, rescued the body of their beloved king, and recaptured the enemy's guns. A terrific explosion in his rear announced, at the same time, that his powder wagons had been blown up, and the imperial forces wavered and began to break. Then appeared Pappenheim, who had been advancing to Wallenstein's support at his utmost speed. Flinging his weight into the contest he forced the Swedes back, but was himself shot down with a mortal wound in the attempt. Meanwhile, the second line of the Swedish reserves had been kept in perfect array; they now delivered their charge, and the victory of Lützen was complete. Wallenstein retreated, abandoning all his artillery, and the Swedes of the victorious army spent the night on the battlefield with 10,000 corpses and the lifeless body of their heroic king. Gustavus had been avenged, and had died a death which would have satisfied even his Viking ancestors, amid heaps of slaughter, in the hour of triumph, and with the eyes of Europe upon him.

But his loss was irreparable. His friends and generals had often reproached him for the recklessness with which he exposed himself.

They had pointed out that the heir to the throne was a girl of five years of age, and that the fortunes of the present enterprise depended absolutely upon his own life. His body was embalmed and carried back to Sweden in the following summer, amid the mourning of his own people and the general delight of his foes. He was but thirty-eight at his death, in the prime of life, in the full tide of success. What his ultimate aim may have been is a matter of dispute, and the discussion, in any case, of what might have been in history is futile. What he did was to show the German princes, too pusillanimous and too broken-spirited to resist the aggressions of the emperor, that their cause was far from hopeless. He checked the progress of the tyranny which would have involved, not merely Germany, but Sweden, and compared with leaders such as Tilly and Wallenstein he stands superior to them, not only as a tactician and general, but even more for his spirit of tolerance, for the stringent discipline with which he spared the inhabitants of conquered countries, for his sense of justice and his devotion to the one interest which he had set before his eyes. His work was continued by his great chancellor, Oxenstierna, and by his generals, Duke Bernard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn. Wallenstein was assassinated in 1634, Ferdinand turned to Spain for help, and war broke out between France and Spain. Then came the Peace of Prague between Ferdinand and the elector of Saxony, and, after the death of Ferdinand, Sweden and France joined forces in 1640. Frederick William, the great elector of Brandenburg, who was anxious to marry the queen of Sweden, allowed the Swedes free passage through his territories, and Sweden was able to defeat Saxony at the second battle of Breitenfeld in 1642. In the following year war broke out with Denmark, which made another attempt to secure the dominion of the Baltic. In the naval war the Swedes were completely successful, and secured the passage of the Sound for their own ships free of toll. At the conclusion of this struggle in 1645 the Swedes reappeared in Saxony and advanced nearly to the walls of Vienna under General Wrangel, when negotiations for peace began. By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden obtained the duchy of Pomerania west of the Oder, and so much east of it as would command the three river mouths, the city of Wismar, the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, with 1,800,000 thalers indemnity. So far as Sweden was concerned, and the same is nearly true of France and Germany, a similar result would have come to pass if peace had been concluded after the first victory of Breitenfeld.

CHAPTER IX

Oliver Cromwell (A.D. 1599–1658)

Oliver Cromwell, "a gentleman by birth, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity", as he described himself to one of his Parliaments, was born in 1599. He was descended from Thomas Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII who assisted that king in the destruction of the monasteries, and the Welsh strain of blood in his family is worthy of notice as possibly accounting for certain elements in his character. Cromwell's native town was Huntingdon, where he went to school under Doctor Thomas Beard, a pedagogue whose belief in the birch and the Bible was equally profound, and who wrote a now unreadable work to prove that human crime never goes unpunished by God even in this world. Cromwell himself, in later years, regarded his military successes as so many proofs of the righteousness of his cause, and the roots of this belief may well have been inculcated by his Puritan schoolmaster. He went to Cambridge at the age of seventeen, but left the university without taking a degree, and studied law in London, acquiring as much legal knowledge as would befit a future country gentleman, a justice of the peace, and a member of Parliament for the fulfilment of his duties. He then married and settled down at Huntingdon, upon the farm which he had inherited from his father. In 1628 he was elected to represent his native town in the third Parliament of Charles I.

This was the Parliament that passed the famous Petition of Right, so that Cromwell began his political career at a moment when relations between the king and the Parliament had become critical and strained. The revolution which eventually resulted from the breach of these relations was, as usual, the resultant of several converging forces. Most revolutions will be found, in fact, to arise from discontent with a particular state of ideas coupled with dissatisfaction with certain practices. The difficulty in England, at this time, was brought to a head by the association of Puritanism, which was a religious movement, with the struggle for constitutional liberty. Henry VIII had regarded the Parliament as mere tools to serve his purposes; Elizabeth's Parliaments, if they had sometimes criticized, generally obeyed. James had a definite theory concerning the Divine Right of monarchy in virtue of which his policy was directed to extending the power of the crown and diminishing the rights of the Parliament. He imposed new duties upon his own authority and imprisoned members

who ventured to disagree with him, forbidding any discussion of his methods of government. Hence, when Charles I came to the throne he found himself in a difficult situation which would have taxed the highest powers of statesmanship. Charles was no statesman, and his guide and counsellor, Buckingham, was nothing more than a courtier. Buckingham's policy in his attack upon Spain roused the deepest dissatisfaction, and Charles could only prevent his impeachment by dissolving his second Parliament. He then proceeded to raise money by forced loans, imprisoning those who refused to pay and dismissing such judges as declared for the legality of refusal. But his foreign policy ended in disastrous failure, Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé ended in defeat, and Charles, unable to continue the war with Spain and France for lack of funds, was forced to summon the Parliament in which Cromwell first took his seat.

The political situation in its simplest form may be stated as the question whether the king or the Parliament were to govern the nation and direct the policy of the country. It was, in short, a question of sovereignty which arose primarily out of the financial problem. If Charles could levy what money he pleased, there was no necessity for him to summon Parliaments; if Parliament declined to grant him any money the king would become bankrupt. Had the cause of friction been confined to this subject, the Great Rebellion would probably have never taken place, but the issue was further complicated by the question of religion.

Puritanism has been defined as Protestantism run mad. It was, in any case, a system of thought which insisted upon the Reformation principles as interpreted by Calvin. Outwardly it laid stress upon the removal of those forms and ceremonies which seemed to open even the smallest crevice for the reintroduction of Roman Catholic practices. Elizabeth had restored Protestantism after the reaction under Mary, and though she called herself Supreme Governor instead of Head of the Church, she had re-established the State in its control of the Church. She attempted a compromise which was intended to satisfy both the English Catholics and the Protestant section of her subjects, but which failed to suppress Catholicism and created Puritanism and Protestant Nonconformity. The aim of the Puritans proper was to restore church worship and church doctrines and government to what was supposed to be an original state of purity. Some regarded the rule of bishops and the supremacy of the crown as compatible with this idea; others considered that a Church upon the model of Geneva would alone satisfy their requirements. Others, again, preferred to found small congregations of their own, advocating their beliefs at their own will and pleasure, and choosing their ministers from among themselves. These became the future Independents. Though Elizabeth had impartially prosecuted Catholic Nonjurors and Protestant Nonconformists, the Puritan party steadily increased, and Parliament became more intent upon Church reformation. James was advised to attempt a compromise,

but only adopted an even more rigid policy than that of Elizabeth; the animosity thus naturally aroused was intensified by his refusal to help the Protestant states in Europe, whom Englishmen regarded as their natural allies. This feeling had increased under Charles, partly in view of the fact that both James and Charles were inclined to support the English Catholics, and also in view of the struggles of the Thirty Years' War and of the French Huguenots on the Continent. On the other hand, Calvinist predestination was a doctrine repellent to a small but growing number of the clergy, and their views were regarded by advanced Puritans as likely to undermine the whole foundations of the Reformation, and to pave the way for the reintroduction of Popery. Charles, in 1628, attempted to settle the dispute by the simple process of ordering both parties to hold their tongues; no one, in future, was to make controversial speeches, to preach or debate upon this religious question.

Cromwell's first recorded speech in the house is said to have been his narrative of an incident showing that the bishop of Winchester was inclined to Popish tenets. His own Puritanism was beyond question. At some time or other in his life, probably shortly after his return from Cambridge, he underwent a definite mental change which was bound to lead him to Puritanism, as the views of Laud had little hold upon the country districts. At length, in 1629, Parliament and king found that any form of compromise was impossible. Charles then dissolved Parliament and ruled without one for the next eleven years. But constitutional liberty seemed to have broken down; Henry VIII and Elizabeth had been accepted as rulers to lead them in the national struggle for independence by Parliamentarians representing the nation, but the House of Commons now refused to admit that Charles was necessary to them in the same sense, and proved their case by asserting his total disregard of national wants and of national needs. At the same time, vigorous as their criticism had been, the Commons had displayed no capacity for taking the place of the king. They were, in fact, no less intolerant of personal liberty or of individual judgment than was the monarchy from its own point of view. Charles had this advantage on his side, that Parliament had at least shown itself as incompetent as he was himself, and it remained to be seen whether he could do better than the Commons, acting upon his own initiative.

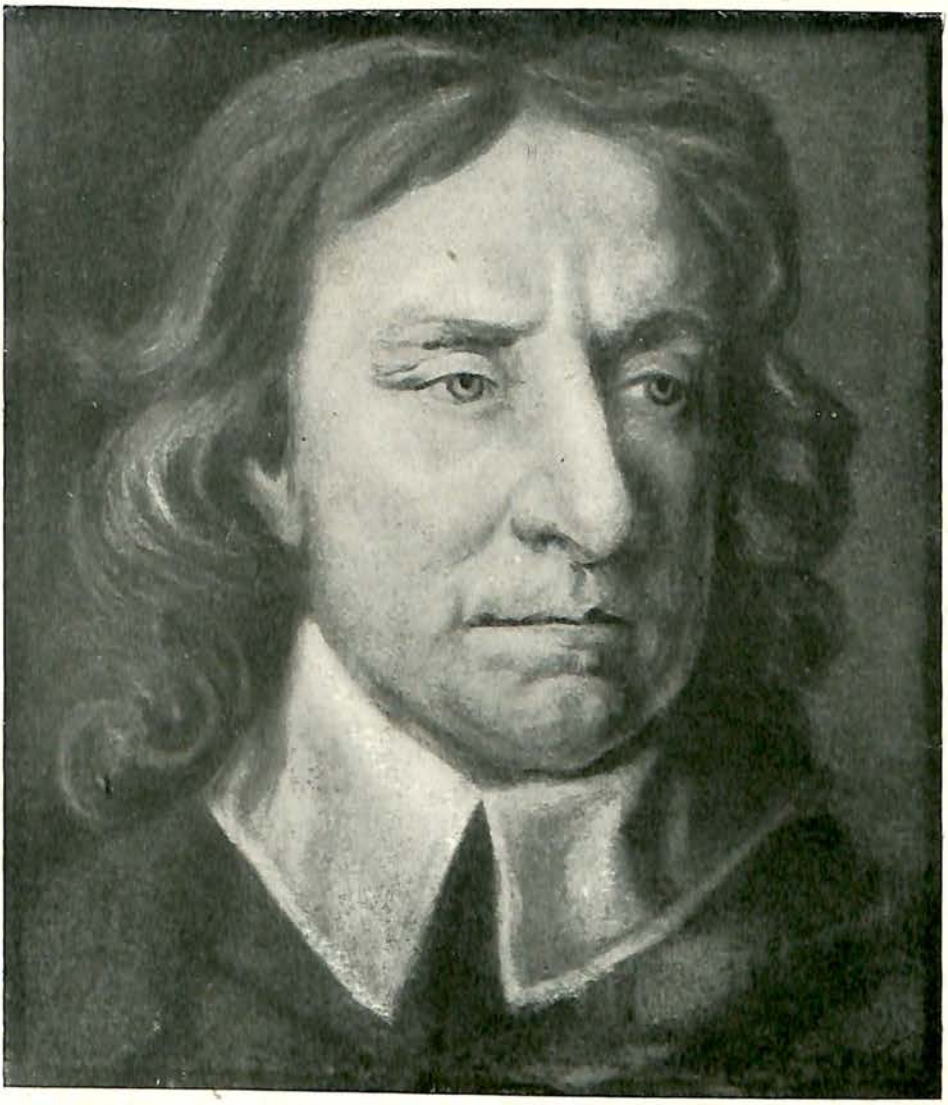
Charles therefore proceeded to levy taxes without parliamentary grants, reviving obsolete laws and granting monopolies. The judges, who were the king's nominees, declined to arbitrate between the king and his subjects; moreover, the king might enforce his will by means of exceptional courts, such as Henry VII's Star Chamber. Thus the king enjoyed absolute power, and his use of it did not inspire his subjects with any respect for his wisdom: while his financial measures discontented the people, they failed to satisfy his own needs. His European policy was conducted upon a system of pettifogging intrigues for purely dynastic purposes; the only resulting benefit was

the fact that it kept England out of war; while Germany was devastated by the Thirty Years' War, while Gustavus Adolphus was fighting his last fight at Lützen, where he met his death to the despair of English Puritans, England was at peace, and her court was the most brilliant in Europe.

The struggles of the Swedish monarch in his championship of the cause of Protestantism on the Continent seemed a call to English Puritans which they could not conscientiously refuse to recognize. Some, indeed, thought that the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism was again beginning in England. Upon ecclesiastical affairs the chief adviser of Charles was Laud, the bishop of London, and his policy was regarded as an insidious attack upon the principles of the Reformation. Laud regarded himself as a conservative reformer, continuing the teaching of Cranmer and Hooker. What he could not understand was the fact that unity and uniformity are not necessarily the same thing; as he says himself: "I laboured nothing more than that the external public worship of God might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be, being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church when uniformity is shut out of the church door". Moreover, Laud regarded as a purely intellectual problem that which many of his compatriots approached from the standpoint of sentiment. Desiring to hold a middle course between Puritanism and the Papacy, he succeeded in pleasing nobody. But under his influence the ecclesiastical policy of Charles was uniform and consistent, and in strong contrast to his foreign policy.

Laud's persecution of those who declined to conform to Church principles as he interpreted them, had aroused a considerable commotion, which culminated in the punishment of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, who were accompanied to the pillory by a triumphant procession. But there is no doubt that the majority of men are more deeply touched by aggressions upon their purses than upon their souls. The true nature of the king's absolutism was brought home to men's minds by such extortions as ship money, resistance to which made John Hampden famous. The attempt to introduce Laud's system into Scotland ended in the Edinburgh Riot and the formation of the Covenant, while Charles found that his own forces were unable to coerce Scotland by war. Wentworth had meanwhile made himself famous in Ireland by his "thorough" devotion to the service of the king and his no less thorough disregard of private interests, and he became the chief adviser of Charles as earl of Strafford.

During these eleven years Cromwell was quietly living a country life. In 1631 he sold his property at Huntingdon and moved farther eastward. In 1636 he became farmer of the cathedral tithes of Ely, and he was one of the gentlemen prosecuted for omitting to take out letters of knighthood, Charles having revived an ancient law which declared this duty to be incumbent upon all who possessed an estate worth forty pounds a year. At Ely, Cromwell defended the rights



OLIVER CROMWELL

From the portrait in crayon (from life) by Samuel Cooper in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge

This is generally regarded as the most characteristic of all the portraits of the Great Protector. Samuel Cooper (1609-72) was a miniature painter, the most distinguished in this branch of art that England has produced. Pepys alludes to him in his *Diary* as "the great limner in little". In addition to Oliver Cromwell, of whom there are several fine miniatures from his brush, Cooper painted many celebrated persons of the Commonwealth and the succeeding reign. His works are chiefly to be found in private collections.

of certain poor commoners who had lost their privileges of pasturage and fishing upon the Fens, after a company had begun the work of drainage. On another occasion he supported the commoners of St. Ives in the recovery of certain waste land which had been filched from them, and this championship of his weaker neighbours secured him great influence in the eastern counties. When the Scottish army crossed the Tyne and overran Northumberland and Durham in 1641, Charles was reduced to despair. He had neither money nor men, and little prospect of procuring either; he was obliged to call a council of peers to patch up a peace with the Scots and to summon a Parliament for 3 November, 1640. To this, the Long Parliament, Cromwell came, with the increased influence and the wider outlook upon affairs which he had acquired during ten years of country life and local administration.

The object of the Parliament was to prevent arbitrary and despotic rule on the part of the king for the future, an object to be achieved by amending the constitution and punishing the men whom the king had used as his tools. Strafford was accordingly impeached, and his execution followed in the next year. Acts were passed abolishing the Court of Star Chamber, Tonnage and Poundage, Ship Money, and, in short, all the extraordinary powers which the crown had acquired in Tudor times. Bills were also passed providing that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent, and that a Parliament should meet every three years even if the king did not summon it. Charles had little choice in the matter; the Scots were still in possession of the north of England, he could not satisfy them without the help of Parliament, and he had no resources with which to begin a war. Cromwell's first intervention in the house took place on 9 November, 1640, when the grievances of the sufferers under the Star Chamber were the subject of discussion. Sir Philip Warwick's description of him upon that occasion is of sufficient interest to bear quotation once more.

> The first time I ever took notice of him was in the beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640 when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much on our good clothes. I came into the House one morning, well clad, to perceive a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain and not very clean and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervour. For the subject matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing and suchlike innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council table unto that height that one would have believed the very Government itself had been in great danger

by it. I sincerely profess he much lessened my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto.

Cromwell moved the second reading of the Triennial Act, but ecclesiastical affairs interested him far more deeply. He was one of the "root and branch" men who proposed the abolition of episcopacy. On 9 February he made a speech upon a petition for the abolition of episcopacy signed by 15,000 citizens of London. The "root and branch" bill never came to anything. It had marked the point of divergence in the counsels of the Long Parliament. While all were agreed upon the constitutional measures necessary to reduce the king's power, unanimity upon religious questions there was none. Then came the Irish revolt, which English Puritans naturally interpreted as a recrudescence of Popery. The question of raising an army for the reconquest of Ireland involved the further question of the military command, and it was felt that the king could not be entrusted with its control. Bills and motions were brought forward to secure the command of the national army to the Parliament, and the divergence upon religious questions became further apparent in the passing of the Grand Remonstrance, which, after pointing to the evils of the king's reign and the efforts of the Parliament to remove them, proposed a policy of reformation for Church and State alike. The clauses dealing with the Church aroused a long and bitter debate, and the Remonstrance was eventually passed by only eleven votes. Cromwell asserted to a friend his readiness to abandon the country and to emigrate had the decision gone in the other direction. Charles then attempted to arrest the five leading members of the Parliament, but his *coup d'état* failed, and, while he left the capital, the lords, under pressure, joined the Commons in initiating measures for the national defence. It seemed that war was inevitable.

Constitutional argument poured forth in torrents, but the question was not one which admitted of argument; the point at issue was not to decide what powers were to go by law to the king or to the Parliament, but which of the two were to be supreme. This was a question which war alone could decide. On 9 July Parliament appointed the earl of Essex as their general, and on 22 August Charles raised his standard at Nottingham.

Cromwell took up arms, in his own words, "for the maintenance of our civil liberties as men and our religious liberties as Christians". As is so often the case in civil wars, those of his own household became a man's foes; Cromwell's uncle and cousin were both warmhearted Royalists, and only to the future Protector did they owe the preservation of their estates after the conclusion of the struggle. During 1642 Cromwell showed considerable energy in support of the Parliament while the preliminary skirmishes were in progress. He subscribed £500 to the fund for raising an army; he marched to Cambridge, and is said to have seized £20,000 worth of plate for the benefit of the Parliament. In short, his energy and zeal marked

him out as a leader. Towards the end of August he returned to London and joined the Parliamentary army with a troop of horse. He learned his first lesson in serious war at the battle of Edgehill, on 23 October, and the chief elements of that lesson were the necessity of keeping a reserve of power in hand and of using it at the opportune moment. Such reserve implied control, which, again, could only be secured by sound discipline. The Parliamentary army was weak in cavalry, and in the warfare of the day a strong cavalry force was indispensable. Tacticians assumed that bodies of infantry could not march securely over open ground except under convoy of a body of cavalry. The musket of the period was an immensely heavy and clumsy weapon, nearly as difficult to discharge as to load; pikes might, indeed, withstand a cavalry charge in close order if supported by good discipline, but musketrymen unsupported by a body of cavalry could only work behind hedges or in very broken ground. Cromwell further insisted that such cavalry must be found if the Parliamentarians were to have a chance. He urged his cousin, Hampden, to raise some new regiments for Essex's army. "Your troops", he wrote, "are most of them decayed serving men, tapsters, and such kind of fellows. Do you think that the spirits of such base, mean fellows will ever be able to overcome gentlemen who have honour, courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or you will be beaten well." Hampden regarded the idea as impracticable; Cromwell considered it perfectly feasible. If the spirit he desired in his troops could not be implanted by birth, it could at least be inspired by religion. In the early part of 1643 he went to the eastern counties on leave of absence for the purpose—in his own words—"of raising such men as had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did".

During the course of 1643 the advantages of the Royalists increased considerably. Charles had three several armies which were to converge upon London, sweeping the Parliamentarians before them as they went. The weak point of this scheme was that these armies were far apart, and, as events proved, those commanded by Hopton and Newcastle were largely composed of recruits who were more concerned for the safety of their families and their property than for the success of the king's cause. Hopton's men, for instance, were unwilling to go far from their homes in Cornwall as long as Plymouth was garrisoned by the Parliament. Newcastle had men who declined to leave Yorkshire while the Parliamentary garrison of Hull might ravage their fields in their absence. The Welshmen were similarly held in check by the garrison of Gloucester. At the same time the Royalists won several successes, and the death of Hampden at Chalgrove Field was a heavy blow to the Parliamentary cause. But as the resistance of Gloucester and Plymouth in the south and west had weakened the king's power of attack, so in the east a formidable barrier was being raised against Newcastle's advance by the so-called Eastern Association, including the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex,

Cambridge, and Hertford, who raised forces in common and paid for them out of a common purse. Cambridge was the headquarters of this association, and Cromwell was, from the outset, the life and soul of the movement. Whenever Royalist troops made a raid upon the eastern counties, Colonel Cromwell and his men were ready to oppose them. At the same time his troop of horse was becoming a regiment, and its eventual success was undoubtedly due to the careful choice which he exercised in the selection of his men. As Baxter wrote: "He had a special care to get religious men into his troop. These men were of greater understanding than common soldiers . . . and making not money but that which they took for public felicity to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant."

While Cromwell thus looked to religion to supply that enthusiasm and bond of unity which the Royalists gained from associations of birth, he also surprised his contemporaries by the rigid discipline which he maintained. His men were well armed, well mounted, and perfectly in hand. "That difference", says Clarendon, the historian of the Great Rebellion, "was observed from the beginning of the war, that if the king's troops prevailed in the charge and routed those whom they charged they never rallied themselves again in order, nor could they be brought to make a second charge again on the same day; whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed, although they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again and stood in order till they received new orders."

To Cromwell and this force was due the defeat of Newcastle, who was routed at Winceby and forced to raise the siege of Hull. Cromwell had done that which Hampden had deemed impossible: he had raised men of a spirit equal to any that the Royalist forces could show, and he had so disciplined them that they were an example to any body of troops upon either side. Parliament recognized his services in 1644 by appointing him a member of the committee of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, entrusted with the management of the war. He was also appointed lieutenant-general of the army of the Eastern Association. His influence thus spread, and the example set by his own special regiment was generally imitated.

Cromwell's value as a leader and as a worker was clearly shown at Marston Moor. He there commanded some 4000 men, and after he had defeated Rupert and driven him in flight, his control of his troops enabled him to face round and attack the Royalists who had been victorious elsewhere. The dispatches addressed by the generals of the committee of both kingdoms made no mention of Cromwell's services, but others were more outspoken. Rupert, in particular, fully appreciated Cromwell's importance, and it was he who, after this battle, gave Cromwell the nickname of Ironside or Ironsides, a title derived, according to a contemporary writer, "from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or defeated", and afterwards extended from the leader to the soldiers themselves. Cromwell's own account of the battle is contained

ENGLAND & WALES
IN TIME OF CROMWELL
Districts held by King at outbreak of War
,, ,, Parliament ,, ,,
Districts gone over to King in Nov. 1644
,, ,, ,, Parliament ,,
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bristol Channel
St George's Channel
North Channel
Glasgow
R. Clyde
EDINBURGH
Berwick
R. Tweed
Ayr
Cheviot Hills
R. Esk
Dumfries
NORTHUMBERLAND
Newcastle
Carlisle
CUMBERLAND
Durham
DURHAM
WESTMORLAND
Belfast
Isle of Man
Thirsk
Scarborough
Lancaster
YORK
Morton Moor
York
Leeds
Hull
Preston
Adwalton Moor
Pontefract
LANCASHIRE
Latham
Manchester
Liverpool
R. Humber
DUBLIN
Anglesey
LINCOLN
Lincoln
Chester
FLINT
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
Newark
DENBIGH
CARNARVON
Nottingham
STAFFORD
MERIONETH
Shrewsbury
Kings Lynn
NORFOLK
Norwich
Yarmouth
MONTGOMERY
SHROPSHIRE
Lichfield
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
Peterborough
Leicester
Ely
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
WORCESTER
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
CAMBRIDGE
Bury St Edmunds
Cambridge
SUFFOLK
HEREFORD
Bedford
BEDFORD
BRECKNOCK
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
WALES
Gloucester
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
Colchester
ESSEX
Pembroke
MONMOUTH
GLOUCESTER
Oxford
GLAMORGAN
Chepstow
Bristol
BERKS
Reading
LONDON
Thames
Bath
WILTSHIRE
SURREY
Guildford
KENT
Canterbury
SOMERSET
Bridgwater
Salisbury
HAMPSHIRE
Dover
Taunton
Calais
Southampton
SUSSEX
Dungeness
DEVON
Exeter
Tone
DORSET
Weymouth
Isle of Wight
CORNWALL
Truro
Plymouth
Channel Is.
FRANCE

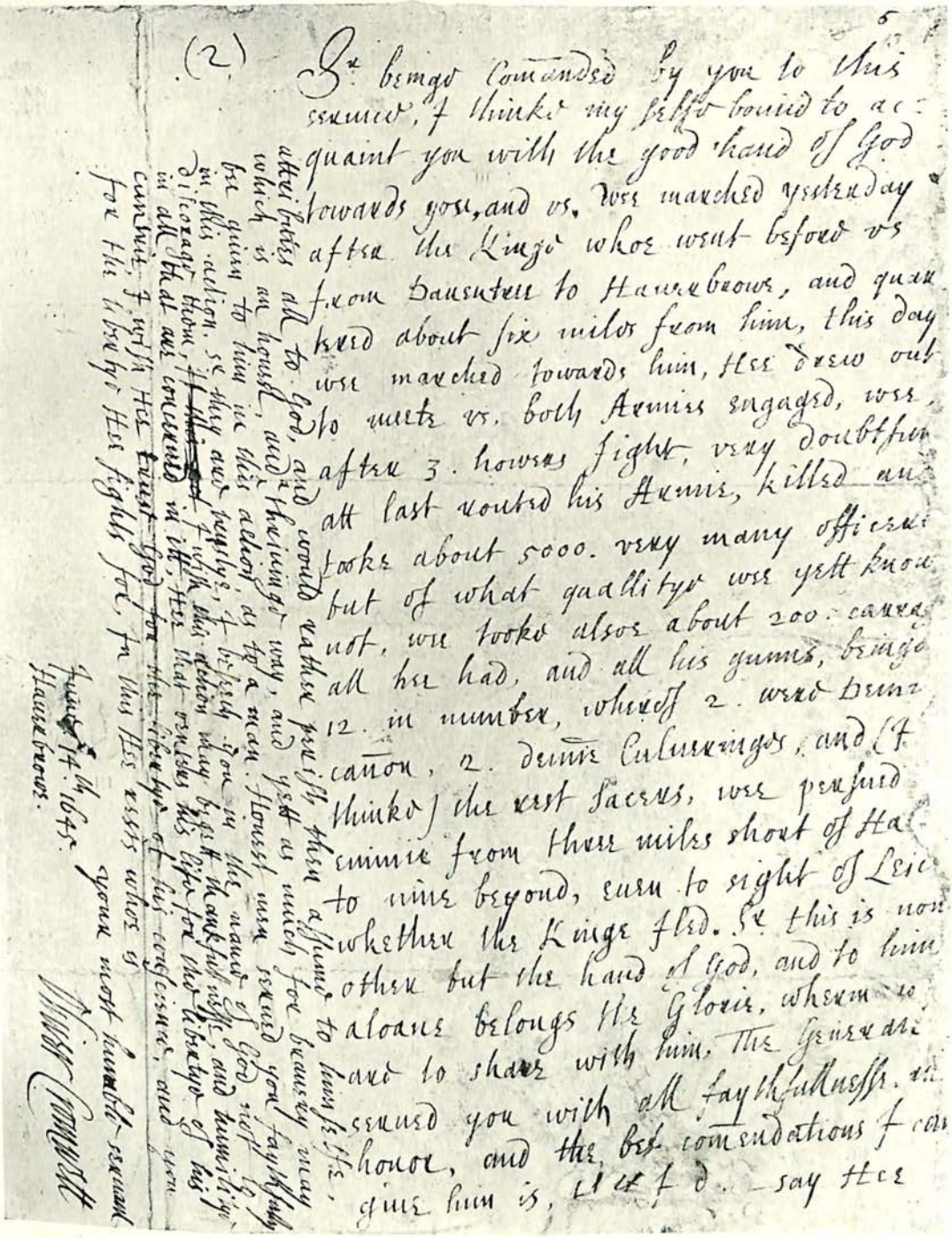
in a letter to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, whose son had lost his life in the battle. He wrote to condole with the sorrowing father and to explain the greatness of the victory, that the colonel might understand in how good a cause his son had fallen. "England", he said, "and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy; the left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now, but I believe of twenty thousand the prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God." This characteristic utterance reveals the religious enthusiasm with which Cromwell and his war machine reverberated. His belief that success was itself evidence of the justness of his cause shows the secret of his influence over his troops.

Meanwhile Cromwell's influence over Manchester, his superior officer, had suffered from differences upon religious points. Those members of the Puritan party known as Independents, who were anxious to see each congregation independent of any general ecclesiastical organization, had attracted Cromwell, Vane, and others of the more advanced Puritans. Cromwell's military experience inclined him strongly towards religious toleration. Major-general Crawford cashiered an officer on the ground that he was an Anabaptist. "Admit that he be," replied Cromwell, "shall that render him incapable to serve the public? Take heed of being too sharp or too easily sharpened by others against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion." In other words, Cromwell saw no reason why a man's religious beliefs should be an obstacle to his promotion, if he were a capable officer. He had therefore filled his own regiment with men of every variety of opinion, and these were the men whom, in his letter to Vane, he had described as the "godly party".

A further cause of quarrel with Manchester was the dilatoriness with which he prosecuted the war. The campaign of 1644 had secured the north of England for the Parliamentary party, and Cromwell considered that had Manchester done his best the king might have been defeated in Berkshire. During November Cromwell charged Manchester with lack of energy before the House of Commons. Manchester retorted by a bitter attack upon Cromwell for his religious opinions. The result was a political quarrel in which the Scots opposed Cromwell as the enemy of their particular creed. The Commons, however, supported Cromwell, and were generally under the impression that Manchester's incapacity had been clearly proved. Cromwell, however, with real statesmanship, decided that a personal triumph which might cause a breach between England and Scotland and raise

animosity between the two Houses of Parliament was not worth having. He had made his complaint in the interests of military efficiency and not of his own reputation, and he therefore urged the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war. He considered that the true remedy lay in the reorganization of the army and in a change of leaders. In accordance with Cromwell's suggestion the Self-Denying Ordinance was passed on 19 December by the Commons and sent up to the Lords, its effect being to exclude all members of either House from military commands. The Lords accepted a modified form of the Ordinance with great reluctance. Meanwhile the Commons had proceeded to form the army known as the New Model, a title implying that its organization was directed exclusively to secure military efficiency: Cromwell became lieutenant-general with command of the cavalry. Parliament now provided for the regular payment of the soldiers by a monthly assessment levied upon all the counties within its power. The commander-in-chief was Sir Thomas Fairfax, while Skippon was major-general. In April, 1645, the New Model began its career of eventual success. At Naseby, Cromwell pursued the same tactics as at Marston Moor. The left Parliamentarian wing, under Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, was routed by the king's cavalry under Rupert, who, as usual, pursued his enemy too far. Meanwhile Cromwell, having scattered the cavalry opposed to him, checked the pursuit, and, facing round, attacked the king's foot in the centre. Thenceforward Charles was unable to offer any serious resistance. His Scotch allies under Montrose, after a series of brilliant successes, had been defeated, and Cromwell was able to reduce the south, capturing Winchester, while Fairfax was besieging Exeter. In the beginning of 1646 the Civil War was practically at an end. Cromwell had now returned to his duties in Parliament. His two elder daughters were married, one of his sons had been killed in the war, and the two surviving sons were serving in the army. The king had surrendered, and the task before the Parliament in which Cromwell took his share was to decide the principles upon which the future settlement of the kingdom should be carried out. The defeat of the king's forces was a far less difficult obstacle to surmount.

The course of the negotiations between the Parliament, the Scots, and Charles, during the years 1647 and 1648, are neither interesting nor edifying reading; there is no doubt that the majority of the Parliament were anxious to establish Presbyterianism. Here they were at one with the Scots but at variance with Cromwell and his Independent Party. Meanwhile Charles declined to change his religion, but did not scruple to hold out a series of illusory proposals in the belief that eventually the dissensions among the Parliamentary Party would force them to compromise upon himself. The Presbyterians were even more afraid of the army than of the king, believing that it was imbued with the spirit of toleration represented by the Independents and by Cromwell. Had the Presbyterian party possessed any statesmen of the most ordinary perspicacity they might well have become



(2)

Sr. beinge Comanded by you to this
seruice, I thinke my selfe bound to ac-
quaint you with the good hand of God
towards you, and vs. wee marched yesterday
after the Kinge whoe went before vs
from Dauentree to Hauerbrowe, and quar-
tered about six miles from him, this day
wee marched towards him, Hee drew out
to meete vs. both Armies engaged, wee,
after 3. howers fight, very doubtfull
att last routed his Armie, killed and
tooke about 5000. very many officers
but of what quallitye wee yett know
not, wee tooke alsoe about 200. carrag
all hee had, and all his gunns, beinge
12. in number, whereof 2. were Demi
canon, 2. demie Culueringes, and (I
thinke) the rest Sacers, wee persued
enimie from three miles short of Ha
to nine beyond, euen to sight of Leic
whether the Kinge fled. Sr. this is non
other but the hand of God, and to him
aloane belongs the Glorie, wherin we
are to share with him, The Generall
serued you with all faythfullnesse, ...
honor, and the best comendations I can
giue him is, ... say Hee

attributes all to God, and would rather perish then assume to himselfe,
which is an honest, and thriuinge way, and yett as much for bravery may
be given to him in this action, as to a man. Honest men serued you faythfully
in this action. Sr they are pryslye, I beseech you in the name of God not to
discourage them, ~~If this~~ I wish this action may begett thankfullnesse, and humilitye
in all that are concerned in it, Hee that ventres his life for the libertye of his
cuntrie, I wish Hee trust God for the libertye of his conscience, and you
for the libertye Hee fights for, In this Hee rests whoe is

your most humble seruant

Oliver Cromwell

June 14th 1645.
Hauerbrowe.

FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL

The letter is addressed to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, and reports the victory of Naseby. Dated, Haverbrowe (Market Harborough), 14th June, 1645 (the day of the battle).

(British Museum: Additional MS.)

masters of the situation. Statesmanship has been defined as the power to recognize existing facts, and the Presbyterians were unable to appreciate the difficulty of inducing the king to accept a Presbyterian Government in control of Church and State, or the advantage of disbanding the army on terms satisfactory to the soldiers. The rank and file had little sympathy with the religious extremists, and were chiefly anxious to return to their homes, but upon condition only that they received all arrears of pay due to them. The Presbyterians hopelessly bungled the situation. They attempted to get rid of Cromwell by a vote stating that, with the exception of Fairfax, the general, no officer was to hold a higher rank than that of colonel. Cromwell was willing to go, but the Presbyterians then attempted to disband the army after voting it a very small fraction of the arrears of pay. The army refused to be disbanded, and became an instrument ready for the use of anyone willing to lead it against the Parliament. Cromwell did his best to reconcile the army and the Parliament, but his position was a delicate one. He sympathized with the demands of the soldiers and also with the demands of the Independent party; at the same time he was sure that evil could only ensue if the army were allowed to establish a military despotism. The army therefore took matters into their own hands, and seized the king's person, lest the Presbyterians and Scots should establish their own ecclesiastical system under the shelter of the royal authority, and then excluded from Parliament the eleven leading members of the Presbyterian party, who were driven to take refuge on the Continent.

In the later months of 1647 the army, under Cromwell's guidance, proceeded to grapple with the constitutional difficulty. A plan of settlement was submitted to the king under the title of "The Heads of the Proposals". This instrument was mainly the work of Ireton, who had a much greater knowledge of constitutional law than Cromwell. The scheme showed that all parties were more or less agreed upon the political requirements of the situation. The king was to become a mere puppet, with a show of outward authority, while the real governmental power remained in the hands of the Parliament. But upon the religious question the army proposed a solution entirely their own, which was an anticipation of the ultimate settlement of 1689. Apart from Roman Catholics, all men were to have complete religious liberty, and those who objected to Episcopacy, or to Presbyterianism, or to both, were not to suffer any penalties. Though this may seem a wise solution of the problem, the age had not sufficiently advanced in the direction of religious toleration; neither Charles nor the Parliament would accept the proposal. The so-called Agitators, the chosen representatives of the army, came to the conclusion that the whole political constitution must be remodelled, and advanced more democratic proposals under the name of the "Agreement of the People". This was an attempt to substitute the authority of the nation for the authority of the king, and contained a provision that such matters as religious liberty were not to be touched by the Parliament. Unfortunately they had not proved that a constitution upon

such principles really represented the national desires. Complete religious liberty was a new idea, and it was quite possible that a new Parliament, elected upon a democratic basis, would reject it. Cromwell himself strongly disliked the idea. He knew nothing of constitutional law, but he had an instinctive objection to constitution-mongering. "If", he said, "we could leap out of one condition into another that had so specious things in it as this hath, I suppose there would not be much dispute; though, perhaps, some of these things may be very well disputed; and how do we know, if whilst we are disputing these things, another company of men shall gather together and they shall put out a paper as plausible as this?" Cromwell, in short, felt instinctively that constitutions must grow and cannot be produced ready made if they are to have any permanence. But Charles, by his flight to Carisbrooke, announced his refusal to treat with the army, and Cromwell was obliged to face the fact that whatever solution was ultimately arrived at, it was not likely to include the king. Even then, had Charles been an honest man, he might have won his way back to the throne. What Cromwell and the majority of the nation wanted was a king who would be controlled by the Parliament upon decisive points, such as the incidence of taxation and the administration of justice. While Charles existed, such a settlement was impossible, and the second Civil War was due to the fact that minds were divided upon this point. Some men hated a military despotism so strongly that they were willing to accept Charles and chance the future. Others felt that a victorious army was more likely to grant them a satisfactory constitution than a king whose past promises had been unreliable, even when they were not treacherous. And once again this diversity of opinion was further complicated by religious differences. Men wanted not only a king, or a Parliament, or a Constitution, but the maintenance of Episcopacy, or of Presbyterianism, or of Independence and toleration. Cromwell's greatness consists largely in the fact that he was able to appreciate all these points of view. He regarded them, not as contradictory, but as converging forces, the resultant of which would ultimately make for progress.

After the end of the second Civil War, the violent ejection of the king's supporters from Parliament, and the trial and execution of Charles, Cromwell was left to supervise the remnants of the House of Commons, an institution which would not have lasted for a week without the support of the victorious army. Meanwhile his attention was wholly absorbed by the situation in Ireland. In 1641 an alliance had been formed in Ireland between the Catholic lords and the native Irish. This broke down in 1647. The Catholic lords objected to becoming the servants of a clerical state, and the Papal nuncio, who attempted to organize the Irish upon an ecclesiastical basis, for resistance to English Puritanism, was unable to carry out his projects when deserted by the Irish lords. The king's lord-lieutenant, Ormond, who had left Ireland and handed over Dublin to the Parliamentary

troops, returned in September, 1648, and began an alliance with the Catholic lords, who were to defend the king in return for religious toleration. Ormond, on this basis, was able to raise an army including both Irish Catholics and English Royalist Protestants. After the king's execution he proclaimed Charles II, and proposed to overthrow the Parliamentary party and the Commonwealth which they had proclaimed in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Cromwell, no doubt, made mistakes in his dealing with Ireland; the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, and the stringent measures of Ireton and Ludlow, when Cromwell himself had left Ireland, drove the Catholic landowners into the wilds of Connaught and confiscated the greater part of Ireland for the benefit of the conquering race. Cromwell's Puritanism and his total ignorance of Irish social history actuated the policy which he followed. The Irish rising of 1641 had been enormously exaggerated in England, and the attempts of Charles to bring over troops from Ireland in the course of the Civil War had fostered the belief that the Irish had been led into a wicked and treacherous rebellion by their priests and their nobles; hence the confiscation of land and the banishment of proprietors. The country was to be re-colonized by more capable and loyal English, and the Irish peasantry would be led by their example to appreciate the truth of Puritanism as compared with the ignorance of Roman Catholicism. Such was Cromwell's view, and the ignorance which it displayed was the ignorance of an age which had little insight for complicated social problems, and in which news and information were very slowly disseminated.

The case in Scotland was very different. The Covenanters were under the persuasion that if Charles were master of England he would soon be master of themselves; for that reason they had been ready to fight side by side with the English at Marston Moor; but after the conclusion of the Civil War the Presbyterian clergy and their many followers regarded the tolerant policy of the English army with the utmost abhorrence. Had Charles been willing to abandon his religion, the year 1647 would probably have seen a combined attack by English and Scottish Royalists and Presbyterians upon the victorious Parliamentarian army. Moreover, after the death of Charles, his religion was forgotten and his birth was remembered. The Scots therefore proclaimed Charles II as the king, not only of Scotland, but of England and Ireland also, and the more readily as he had promised to become a Presbyterian ruler. Fairfax had declined to lead an English army against him on the ground that the Scots had every right to choose their own form of government. But Cromwell saw that it was impossible to refuse the challenge, and overthrew the claims of the Scots at Dunbar and Worcester. Naturally heartburnings and risings were the result. It was necessary to quarter English troops in the country, and to restore harmony between the two countries was not the work of a moment. Religious difficulties apart, the real reason why the Commonwealth struck at

Ireland and Scotland was the fear that either of these countries, in conjunction with the English Royalist party, might prove too much for the Parliamentarians. From this point of view Cromwell's action was one of self-defence, and his indisputable military genius made that action once and for all effectual.

Of the battle of Worcester Cromwell said: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." He was so far right in his estimate of the victory in that he was never again obliged to lead an army upon English soil. He hoped that the Commonwealth would settle down under a regular form of government, and had urged Parliament to dissolve itself in favour of a new and more truly representative assembly. The existing Parliament was becoming extremely unpopular; the so-called system of composition, payments exacted from the Royalists, was not fairly carried out; members of Parliament proved amenable to bribery in this matter and were inclined to nepotism. On the other hand it seemed likely that a representative Parliament would probably overthrow Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and might even recall the king. Cromwell wished that a committee of officers and politicians should be formed to provide against any such catastrophe. The Parliament resolved that members then sitting should continue to sit in the next Parliament without re-election, and should form a committee to scrutinize the new members. Cromwell objected to this plan, which merely tended to perpetuate the existing unpopular Parliament, and eventually dissolved it himself in April, 1653. The government thus came into the hands of Cromwell and the army. The question then arose, under what form of government was the business of the country to be conducted. Parliament had destroyed the supremacy of the king, but it had shown its own incapacity for supremacy. Cromwell would not venture to trust the popular will, and his own party was divided. One body, headed by Lambert, demanded a moderate measure of political and ecclesiastical reform, while another party, with vast religious enthusiasm, headed by Harrison, was anxious to introduce the Fifth Monarchy and the Reign of the Saints, the saints, of course, being themselves. The nominated Parliament which Cromwell called together, the Barebones Parliament as the Royalists styled it in derision, possessed a majority of the moderate party. They, however, were not sufficiently attentive to business to retain their preponderance. A few energetic members, therefore, finding themselves likely to be defeated, went down to the House early in the morning, dissolved Parliament before their opponents could arrive, and placed the supreme power in the hands of Cromwell. Cromwell then accepted the office of Lord Protector under a document known as the "Instrument of Government", drawn up by his leading supporters. Parliament was to retain the legislative powers and the sole right of voting extraordinary taxation, while the Protector in general performed those functions which had formerly belonged to the king. While he was to appoint the executive officers,

CROMWELL AT DUNBAR. From the painting by Andrew C. Gow, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art.

This picture shows an incident in the Battle of Dunbar, 1650, following the rout of the Scottish army. According to a letter quoted by Thomas Carlyle, "The Lord General made a halt, and sang the 117th Psalm, till our horse could gather for the chase". Cromwell is seen sitting bareheaded on his horse a little in front of his cavalry, and a trooper on the left is bringing up a spare charger.

The painter, Andrew Carrick Gow, born in London in 1848, became an R.A. in 1891. He has devoted himself specially to historical subjects. This example of his work was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1886, and purchased for the nation by the Chantrey Trustees.

CROMWELL AT DUNBAR

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ANDREW C. GOW, R.A.

he was restrained by a council of state, the members of which were nominated in the instrument and were appointed for life. While the new constitution was an attempt at a compromise between moderate and extreme Puritanism, the fact remains that it was the work of soldiers; the country had not been consulted in the formation of it, and, while Cromwell no doubt did his best to disguise the fact, he none the less obviously owed his power to a military despotism. The prospects of a permanent settlement thus seemed unlikely.

Meanwhile the country was at war with Holland, a struggle which Cromwell brought to a close in 1664. He had no love for war with a Protestant country, and indeed had dreamed of a great alliance of Protestant states in Europe under the leadership of England. Such an idea was impossible of achievement, for the Peace of Westphalia had, once and for all, ended the grouping of European states upon the principle of their religious views. However, Cromwell desired a foreign war, partly to divert attention from difficulties at home, partly to employ his army, and because he was himself a soldier. His policy had been antagonistic to France, as France had been the chief supporter of the Royalist party; he was, therefore, inclined to turn to Spain, which was still at war with France. He proposed to the Spanish ambassador, as the basis of an alliance, that Spain should help him to recapture Calais and hand over Dunkirk to England as a pledge for the future surrender of Calais. He also desired freedom of commerce in the West Indies and religious toleration for the English in the Spanish dominions. Upon a refusal of this demand, he sent out two fleets at the end of 1654—one to attack the pirates of Tunis, by way of reprisal for their injuries to English commerce, and another to seize some island in the Spanish West Indies, an adventure which ended in the capture of Jamaica. As Spain refused Cromwell's proposals, he turned to France, and, after Mazarin had agreed to stop the persecution of the Vaudois, a treaty was signed in 1655. It is difficult to justify Cromwell's foreign policy thus far; doubtless he did some pioneering work on behalf of the future empire, but the capture of Jamaica, for instance, was conducted in an underhand manner without any previous formal declaration of war. The hatred of the Spanish Inquisition may have seemed to him an excuse, but it is doubtful if a single Continental Protestant was any the better for his action.

On 3 September, 1654, the Protector met his first Parliament. The first act of the Parliament was to revise the constitution in its own favour, upon the grounds that they were the representatives of the nation, and must therefore settle under what conditions the nation was to live. Cromwell, however, would not agree that the nation must have its own way, for good or for evil. He may have suspected that the nation would overthrow both Puritanism and Protectorate if it were allowed to decide for itself. He therefore referred to the clause in the "Instrument of Government" under which every member of the House was pledged not to alter the constitution as vested in the

single person of the Parliament, and insisted that members who would not renew the pledge should be excluded from the House. Compromise on this point was impossible, and Cromwell solved the difficulty by dissolving Parliament. This was tantamount to a confession that the new system was a failure. It might, indeed, last as long as Cromwell was there to uphold it, but the nation was clearly disinclined to accept it as a final settlement. When it became necessary to impose taxation, to meet the expenses of the war in progress, many refused to pay on the ground that Cromwell could levy taxes only under the authority of the "Instrument of Government", which had never been recognized by Parliament. Republican attempts at resistance and one Royalist rising showed Cromwell that drastic measures were necessary if the existing constitution was to be upheld. He therefore divided England into ten military districts, each under the command of a major-general, with orders to collect payment of 10 per cent upon the incomes of Royalists. His second Parliament (in 1656) certainly voted him the money he needed, but only after he had excluded some hundred members who were likely to oppose him, and also because thirty-eight wagons full of Spanish silver passed through the streets of London bearing the plunder from the captured Spanish treasure fleet. Parliament then drew up a series of amendments to the constitution known as the "Humble Petition and Advice", providing for the existence of a second House to act as a revising chamber and taking from the Protector the power of excluding members. Cromwell refused the title of king, which was then offered, and was installed as Lord Protector with every formality. This reorganization arose from an instinctive feeling that a return to something like the old constitution of the country was the safest form of procedure. In the second session of the Parliament the hundred excluded members reappeared; Cromwell had no longer a majority, and was obliged to dissolve Parliament shortly afterwards.

His foreign policy proved, on the whole, as successful as his attempts at constitutional government were unfortunate. The English troops defeated the Spaniards, and Dunkirk was surrendered to England in 1658. Meanwhile Cromwell was growing ill and weak, and was doubtless worn out by the struggle to grapple with the complications and the chaos of his domestic government. Sometimes, indeed, he regretted the simple country life which he had exchanged for the cares of office. He lost his favourite daughter on 6 August, 1658, and it was obvious to his friends that he was fast breaking up. On the last day of August England was swept by a tremendous storm, and the Cavaliers said that the devil was fetching home the soul of the usurper. But a watcher in Cromwell's bedroom heard him praying: "Thou hast made me, Lord," he said, "though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good and Thee service. Many of them have set too high value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. But, Lord, however Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them

consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure." Three days afterwards, on 3 September, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he passed away.

Cromwell was a great man, the greatest of his age, both as a soldier and as a statesman. He not only won victories in the field, but his own hand forged the instrument of his success. He it was who organized the forces which made Puritanism victorious. Regular pay, severe discipline, and a common religious spirit, in spite of individual diversities, made his army the most capable in Europe. He had himself that power of influencing men which leaders like Napoleon and Wellington possessed. He had also a natural aptitude for war. In his dealings with the Eastern Counties Association he showed an energy and resolution from the outset which at once marked him out for leadership. Cromwell was forty-three before he had ever seen serious fighting, and he learnt his trade by constant skirmishes with opponents as untrained as himself. In the early battles of the Civil War there had been a general absence of generalship; the different parts of the armies fought independently, and there was little control of the whole. This Cromwell changed, and such tactical skill as he displayed at Dunbar was possible only for a general of first-rate ability, and only for one who had entire control of the troops under him. Comparisons have been made between Cromwell and Napoleon, but apart from a certain superficial resemblance between their careers there is little likeness to be found. Brought into prominence by a revolution, raised to power by military genius, each attempted to remodel the constitutions of their countries and to refound their states upon a new basis. Here the similarity ends. The constitutional tasks by which each of them was confronted were wholly different in nature and therefore required different qualities. As regards Cromwell's character, the keynote to it may be found in his belief that all things were ordered by Divine justice. It followed that the business of a statesman was not to turn things to his own purposes, but to discover the hidden purpose which underlay them, and by examining the past to infer some general principle which would unravel the tangle of the future. To interpret the meaning of things at such a time in the history of England was a slow process, and Cromwell's apparent indecision upon certain occasions may be ascribed to this difficulty, though, when he thought he had discovered the truth, no statesman was ever more decisive. On the other hand, he was not far-sighted, and politically he was even inconsistent. At one time he was ready to agree with the king, at another he was anxious to send him to the scaffold. His views wavered between monarchy and republicanism. The fact is that in the effort to discern the future his mind was usually absorbed with the incidents of the present moment, and he believed himself a mere instrument in the hands of a higher power.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the supposition that he had ever combined events to secure his own aggrandizement. Though this theory of war or of politics has its limitations, it also conferred upon Cromwell the elements of greatness. His belief obliged him to be, in the first place, unselfish and disinterested, and it forced him also to look facts squarely in the face. He may sometimes have mistaken the meaning of facts, but he rarely mistook their importance. Yet in certain respects he was in advance of his time; thirty years after his death the religious liberty for which he constantly strove was established by law. He wished to see a greater England beyond the seas, and therefore an England that was mistress of the seas. And thus ambitions for the realization of which he laid the foundations became realities. If his work perished with him, he none the less secured this much, that absolute monarchy should have no footing on English soil, and that from three separate and hostile communities one undivided state should be formed. His failure to secure any permanency for his ideas was due, in the first place, to the fact that he depended upon the army for his power. It was an army without popularity. The devastations of the Civil War aroused no enthusiasm among the nation at large, and few felt for him as Frenchmen felt for Napoleon and the Old Guard. Again, his Commonwealth constitution was an improvisation: movements must be spontaneous and institutions must grow if they are to last; even Cromwell's advanced toleration could not provide equal liberty of thought for all, and his constitution never met even with national acquiescence. "The question is," said he, "what is for the people's good, not what pleases them", and the utterance is a good commentary upon the character of his government. Cromwell is great because he was himself; in the words of his household steward: "A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in house of clay than his was. I believe if his story were impartially translated and the unprejudiced world well possessed with it, she would add him to her rare worthies."

CHAPTER X

Louis XIV (A.D. 1638–1715)

Louis XIV was the typical example of a king who ruled by Divine Right. This theory of government influenced the progress of Europe as strongly as the theory of the empire and the Papacy during the Middle Ages, and was most fully developed and discussed in England and France. Stated in its simplest form, the theory regarded the king as the divinely appointed head of a nation, the subjects of which are bound to obey him as children obey their parents, and have equally little right to rebel against his authority. The king is responsible only to God, to whom the people must leave all questions of retribution if the king happens to be a bad or tyrannical governor. Bossuet, the court chaplain and famous preacher under Louis XIV, states that "kings are the ministers of God and His vicegerents on earth. The person of kings is sacred and it is sacrilege to harm them." Bossuet derived the support for this theory from the Bible, but other defenders of it were content to insist upon its naturalness as proof of its divine nature. The argument of the English writer, Filmer, was: "That which is natural to man exists by divine right. Kingship is natural to man, therefore kingship exists by divine right." The belief was not a mere pious expression of opinion; it had been forced upon mankind by the logic of facts. The city state, in Italy, was a form of government that had led to constant warfare and disturbance; the rule of the feudal lords had been intolerably oppressive to the people and destructive to the unity of the state. Peace and security seemed dependent upon the support of the royal power, and thus, by the method of exhaustion, men had come to accept the theory of Divine Right as the true basis of kingship. It was first formulated when the emperors began to dispute with the Papacy the sphere of their respective powers, and Dante's treatise, *De Monarchia*, was intended to show how emperor and Pope are both divine institutions and can both live together in harmony. The overthrow of the empire in the fourteenth century by the Papacy, when temporal princes began to struggle for autonomy, naturally brought the revival of the same theory to justify individual action, while the strict ideas of primogeniture and inheritance connected with the feudal system strengthened it. The Reformation, again, brought the theory into further prominence. When a heretic king was excommunicated by the Pope, who ordered his subjects to take up arms against him, the king's supporters naturally appealed to his Divine Right as an argument against

rebellion. The theory was first definitely questioned during the struggle of the Netherlands against Spain.

After the state of anarchy and exhaustion in which the religious wars had left France, the majority of Frenchmen entirely believed in the theory of government by one; of government by themselves they had as yet no conception. Louis is said to have crystallized his own rendering of the theory in his famous words: "*L'état, c'est moi*", and when he came to the throne the foundations of an autocratic power had already been laid by the work of Richelieu. Louis XIV was born on 5 September, 1638, the year in which the French army captured Alsace, and in which the Thirty Years' War was still raging. Louis XIII had another son in the following year, who afterwards married the unfortunate Henrietta, daughter of Charles I of England. In 1642 Richelieu died, and the next year saw the death of Louis XIII. He had arranged a regency consisting of his wife, Anne of Austria, and his brother, Orléans, with a council composed of Mazarin, Condé, and others. France was now in a strong position, and Mazarin was left to consolidate the work begun by Richelieu. In combination with Sweden she had supported the German Protestants against the house of Hapsburg, and was the trusted ally of Sweden and the United Provinces. The kingdom at home was prosperous and flourishing, while the Huguenots had become loyal and contented subjects.

Mazarin, however, did not become strong enough to take Richelieu's place in its entirety until ten years of struggle and intrigue had passed. The Parliament of Paris, a court of justice which attempted to assume political functions, and was in any case bound to register the royal edicts and so give them validity, now asserted its claims. Richelieu had forbidden the Parliament to attempt any interference in politics, but four days after Louis XIII's death the Parliament abolished the regency council which had been appointed and made Anne of Austria supreme. It expected that Richelieu's nominees would be dismissed, and that the nobles would be able to recover something of that power of which he had deprived them. However, the queen retained Mazarin as prime minister, and the battle of Rocroi was a severe repulse for the Spaniards and the imperial troops, who had thought that the minority of Louis XIV was an excellent opportunity for an attack. Nor did Anne of Austria show any Spanish leanings. There were, however, many difficulties at hand. The Condé family were jealous of Mazarin, and its members claimed some of the most important governorships in France, as also did Orléans. The Huguenots were also restive, chiefly from their uncertainty of the future. Mazarin, however, succeeded in overcoming these dangers. The Huguenots were quieted, and the influence of his chief opponents was steadily and pertinaciously undermined. By 1644 the agitation in the provinces was at an end. At the same time he appeared to have exchanged one set of troubles for another. It was necessary to pay large bribes to Condé and Orléans, while Anne of Austria was unduly generous and her courtiers extremely rapacious; the Government was

EUROPE
A.D. 1648
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200 300 400
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
London
Dublin
Edinburgh
Berwick
Durham
York
Norwich
Bristol
Dover
Calais
Channel Is.
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Arnhem
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Hamburg
Bremen
Lubeck
Berlin
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Prussia
Konigsberg
Memel
Courland
Livonia
Riga
Dunaburg
Esthonia
Reval
Dorpat
Pskov
Novgorod
Moscow
Smolensk
Mohilev
Lithuania
Minsk
Grodno
Warsaw
POLAND
Pinsk
Lublin
Volhynia
Sandomir
Lemberg
Galicia
Podolia
Kiev
Tchernigov
Briansk
Tula
Yelets
Voronezh
Saratov
Sarai
Samara
Kazan
Uglitch
Rostov
Nishni Novgorod
Principality of Riazan
Muzan
THE EMPIRE
Saxony
Silesia
Breslau
Bohemia
Prague
Moravia
Austria
Vienna
Tabor
Nurnberg
Trentzin
Tolzay
Passau
Munich
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Landshut
Brandau
Breisgau
Suabia
Ulm
Worms
Frankfort
Mentz
Cologne
Aix
Liege
Treves
Juliers
Cleves
Deutz
Bonn
Metz
Rheims
Paris
Caen
Rouen
Dieppe
Calais
Boulogne
Abbeville
Amiens
Arras
Cambray
Lisle
Tournay
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Mons
Namur
Luxemburg
Thionville
Nancy
Dijon
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Charolles
Limoges
Lyons
Bourges
Poitiers
Rochelle
Bordeaux
Guienne
Toulouse
Narbonne
Orange
Avignon
Provence
Nice
Toulon
Marseilles
Aix
Grenoble
Geneva
Berne
Swiss Confederation
Tyrol
Innsbruck
Styria
Grätz
Carniola
Friuli
Venice
Duchy of Milan
Savoy
Turin
Piedmont
Montferrat
Mantua
Ferrara
Bologna
Florence
Siena
Ancona
Papal States
Rome
Naples
Barletta
Brindisi
Corsica (to Genoa)
Sardinia (Spain)
Cagliari
Majorca
Ivica
Barcelona
Valentia
Carthagena
Almeria
Granada
Gibraltar
Malaga
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Jaen
Toledo
Madrid
Castile
Aragon
Portugal
Lisbon
Oporto
Valladolid
St. Sebastian
Pamplona
Navarre
Algiers
Bona
Goletta
Susa
Tunis
Pashalik of Algiers
Watasids
Fez
Tangier
Ceuta
Melilla
Hungary
Buda
Pest
Presburg
Raab
Komorn
Klausenburg
Bronstadt
Tirgovishte
Jassy
Moldavia
Ycolisan
Akerman
Kinburn
Kertch
Crimea
Georgia
Baktchi Serai
Orsova
Walachia
Krajova
Nicopolis
Silistria
Bulgaria
Warna
Sinope
Samsun
Trebizond
Kastamuni
Amasia
Bosnia
Belgrade
Widdin
Servia
Sabacz
Rama
Ragusa
Philippopolis
Scutari
Durazzo
Salonika
Constantinople
Semlin
Ismid
Angora
Bruza
Ottoman Empire
Bergama
Kutahaya
Konia
Karaman
Tarsus
Adana
Antioch
Aleppo
Damascus
Syria
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Smyrna
Ephesus
Lepanto
Athens
Corinth
Larissa
Zeitun
Rubovo I.
Chios
Corfu
Zante
Duchy of Naxos
Mistra
Rhodes
Cyprus
Nicosia
Candia
Crete (to Venice)
Tripoli
Sicily (Spain)
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Malta (Sp.)
Gozo
Gerba
Bougie
Algiers
Oran
Tremecen
Fez
Morocco
Mequinez
Tangier
Gibraltar
Strait of Gibraltar
Ceuta
Melilla
Tetuan
Tarifa
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Finisterre
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Stavanger
Bergen
Tonsberg
Opsala
Stockholm
Upsala
Calmar
Gothland
Elfsborg
Wisby
Carlscrona
Malmo
Helsingborg
Helsingfors
Abo
Viborg
Revel
Narva
Ladoga
Stolbova
Vologda
Kazan
Samara
Saratov
Sarai
Tula
Yelets
Voronezh
Briansk
Smolensk
Mohilev
Minsk
Grodno
Kovna
Volpova
Dunaburg
Riga
Pskov
Dorpat
Esthonia
Livonia
Courland
Lithuania
Prussia
Konigsberg
Memel
Bernhole
Schlawe
Stolpe
Dantzic
Thorn
Posen
Culm
Graudentz
Marienburg
Elbing
Frauenburg
Braunsberg
Heilsberg
Allenstein
Neidenburg
Lyck
Rastenburg
Insterburg
Gumbinnen
Tilsit
Memel
Libau
Windau
Mitau
Pernau
Reval
Narva
Wiborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Tornea
Uleaborg
Kajana
Wasa
Gefle
Upsala
Stockholm
Calmar
Gothland
Wisby
Carlscrona
Malmo
Helsingborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Roskild
Odensee
Aalborg
Ripen
Aarhuus
Viborg
Wiburg
Aalborg
Skagen
Christiansand
Stavanger
Bergen
Drontheim
Opsala
Tonsberg
Laland
Fyen
Zealand
Bornholm
Rugen
Stralsund
Pomerania
Prussia
Konigsberg
Memel
Courland
Livonia
Riga
Dunaburg
Esthonia
Reval
Dorpat
Pskov
Novgorod
Moscow
Smolensk
Mohilev
Minsk
Grodno
Kovna
Volpova
Lithuania
Warsaw
Poland
Pinsk
Lublin
Volhynia
Sandomir
Lemberg
Galicia
Podolia
Kiev
Tchernigov
Briansk
Tula
Yelets
Voronezh
Saratov
Sarai
Samara
Kazan
Uglitch
Rostov
Nishni Novgorod
Moscow
Principality of Riazan
Muzan
Russia
Sea of Azof
Taganrog
Perekop
Crimea
Kertch
Kinburn
Akerman
Ycolisan
Moldavia
Jassy
Bessarabia
Hungary
Transylvania
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Thessaly
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Constantinople
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Kiev
Tchernigov
Uglitch
Rostov
Nishni Novgorod
Moscow
Principality of Riazan
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Stockholm
Calmar
Gothland
Wisby
Carlscrona
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Copenhagen
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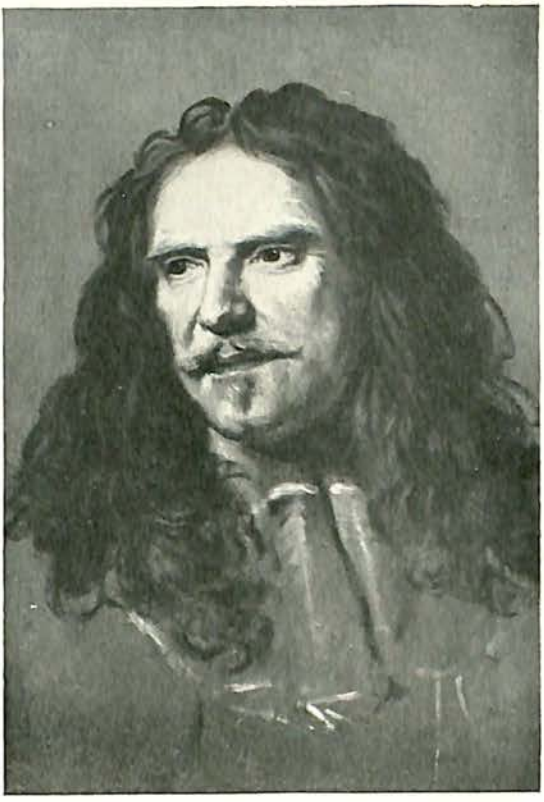
therefore obliged to collect the existing taxes with greater stringency, and also to find some new sources of revenue. These measures caused outbreaks and revolts in the provinces. However, several brilliant victories at the close of the Thirty Years' War, especially that of Nördlingen, restored the credit of the Government, and Mazarin was able to make peace with the emperor. In 1648 the United Provinces signed a treaty with Spain, in fully justified uneasiness that the French might secure the Belgian provinces. Mazarin was anxious to extend the French frontier to the Scheldt, a project to which the Dutch offered the strongest resistance. But once again a victory abroad, that of Condé at Lens, decided the emperor to conclude the Peace of Westphalia. Meanwhile the war with Spain continued, and the heavy taxation, with other causes of discontent, produced the civil war known as the Fronde, the object of which, in both its divisions, was the overthrow of Mazarin and the restoration to power of the local and provincial nobles. This internal commotion, especially during the movement known as the New Fronde, disturbed the conduct of the war against Spain, and the Spaniards at once took the offensive. Condé, again, thought that his brilliant services had not been sufficiently recognized, and resolved to break with Mazarin and to seize the power. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned in 1650, and the presence of the young king with the royalist forces aroused sufficient enthusiasm to secure a number of successes. Then the opposition was reinforced by the adherents of Orléans, and Mazarin resolved to retire from Paris. The king and his brother were almost prisoners in Paris for a few days, but, as Mazarin had foreseen, the Fronde was composed of so many conflicting interests that, in the absence of a common purpose, it was unable to hold together. In 1651 the king attained his majority, and Anne of Austria resigned the power which she had held for nine years. It was now possible for the ministers to declare war upon the Fronde with the definite statement that the members of the movement were rebels against the king's person. Alsace and Lorraine also threatened danger; Cromwell was inclined to support them, as he feared that the French court would support Charles II. In 1652 the famous Marshal Turenne saved the situation, and the disorder in Paris itself had impressed all loyal citizens with the fact that the king's triumph was their only guarantee for peace and good government. In 1652 Condé and his forces left Paris and their leader fled the country; Louis was able to return to his capital, and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. The Parliament was ordered to confine itself henceforward to legal business, and its leading members, who had been largely responsible for the late disturbances, were banished. Mazarin was recalled to the capital, and resumed his duties as prime minister. At the beginning of 1653 the Fronde movement was dead, except in one or two outlying provinces. For the next six years Mazarin was busy driving the Spaniards out of the south of France, and attempting to secure the ground which they had captured upon the seacoast.

Mazarin now gave Louis his first experience of warfare. The minister took considerable pains with the young king's political education, and wished him to insist on thinking and acting for himself, while using his ministers as his instruments. In 1653 Louis joined Turenne's army, and also made a tour under Mazarin's guidance to other points of his kingdom where danger threatened. He observed the usefulness of intrigue, which enabled Mazarin to secure France in possession of Alsace. In 1654 he was duly crowned at Rheims. During that winter the Parliament again attempted to criticize the king's edicts in view of the misery of the people, and, for the moment, it seemed as if the Fronde was about to begin again. In 1655 this opposition reached its height, and then it is that Louis is said to have appeared suddenly before the united Parliament and to have made his famous declaration: *L'état, c'est moi.* The fact remains that he then soundly scolded the members for their conduct, and left the council chamber without waiting for their reply. Mazarin and Turenne were able to prevent any outbreak. During the campaign of that year the king was present at several important engagements. The war upon the northern frontier dragged on, but in 1657 Mazarin succeeded in making a treaty with England, in the hope of securing her assistance for the capture of Dunkirk. Condé and the Spaniards were thenceforward checked. On the death of the emperor Ferdinand, in 1658, Mazarin was able to give Louis an object lesson in the art of foreign policy, when he opposed the candidature of Ferdinand's son, Leopold, who was none the less elected emperor. In that year Dunkirk capitulated, and, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, was to be handed over to the English. Louis felt the blow deeply, and was never content until he had recovered the town for France. He suffered from a severe attack of fever in the course of the campaign, and shortly after his recovery Mazarin began negotiations for his marriage with Maria Theresa, which was to cement a treaty between Spain and France. Philip IV was quite prepared to make peace, and after Mazarin had stimulated his desires by a show of considering the princess of Savoy, the matter was definitely concluded. The Peace of the Pyrenees was signed in November, 1659; France gained most of the territory which she desired upon her northern frontier, and at the same time a general pacification throughout Europe took place. The northern war was ended by the death of Charles X of Sweden, in 1660, when Sweden and Denmark signed the Treaty of Copenhagen, in the negotiations for which Mazarin was conspicuous. Louis was reconciled to the prince of Condé, and made a tour through the south of his country, eventually reaching Bayonne, where his marriage with the Spanish Infanta took place. He then returned to Paris and made a triumphal entry with his bride. The years of minority were now over, and France was no longer divided against herself. What Louis had learnt more than all else was the necessity for unity if France was to survive. From Mazarin he had learnt the art of government, and the minister had wisely removed him from the enervating and effeminate influence of the court during that time of life when he was most open

CARDINAL MAZARIN

From the painting by Champaigne



MARSHAL TURENNE

From the painting by Lebrun

NICOLAS FOUQUET

From the painting by Bourdon

JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT

After the painting by Champaigne

to receive impressions. He had a real taste for warfare, which it was often necessary to restrain. When Mazarin died, in 1661, Louis was twenty-three years of age. The cardinal felt that he had left a ruler capable and determined to continue his own policy. Louis at once became his own prime minister, and a new epoch began for his country.

At the time of Mazarin's death Louis was twenty-three years of age. He was of a majestic and dignified appearance, profoundly convinced in his own mind of the truth of that theory of Divine Right with which the adulation of Bossuet and his other courtiers continually impressed him, and therefore convinced that a divine instinct would enable him to solve the several problems of government with perfect correctness. There was consequently a religious basis at the root of much of his policy. His anti-Huguenot policy, for instance, was the logical outcome of his theory of absolutism. Similarly, it was unnecessary for a king thus divinely inspired to consult the people or to consult anyone but himself. Louis therefore abolished all rival authorities and councils; he never summoned the States-General or the Parliament. The local authorities, the nobility, the Church, and the towns were made servilely submissive to the Crown, and an administrative despotism, with ministers who were nothing more than the king's agents, and were directly responsible to him, was now placed upon so secure a basis as to last until the Revolution. Nor must it be supposed that, in acting thus, Louis was inflicting a distasteful government upon the people: the nation was weary of the struggle between the nobles and the Crown, and was entirely disinclined to see itself the *corpus vile* for any more constitutional experiments. Louis proposed to give his people the blessings of a paternal despotism, to make France a leading power in Europe, and the people were glad to have it so. In these aims Louis was helped by admirable ministers, who certainly gave France as good a government as was possible under the old regime. His own indefatigable devotion to business made a strongly centralized administration possible. The administration of justice was improved; the financial system was placed upon a proper basis; the army was disciplined, and a navy was created. Canals were made, and foreign commerce stimulated by the foundation of an empire overseas. Apart from good government at home, Louis was also anxious to secure for France the leadership of Europe, and to make the house of Bourbon supreme where the house of Hapsburg had formerly ruled. The result was a succession of wars which involved, at times, almost the whole of Europe, and seriously interrupted the progress of the colonial empire to which Louis should have devoted his chief attention. If his European ambitions were defeated by the stubbornness of the Dutch and by the generalship of Eugène and Marlborough, he, none the less, left France a stronger power than he found her, and in the war of the Spanish Succession he at least achieved his ultimate object. His education upon the literary and artistic side had been greatly neglected, but for his purpose he had received a training far more valuable from Mazarin. He had learnt not

to despise the triviality of detail, to see that what he thought best was done, and to devote himself regularly and conscientiously to what he called the trade of kingship. Under the Grand Monarch, French became the diplomatic language of Europe, her literature underwent a revival which can well be compared with the Elizabethan age in England, and the special canons of artistic taste which she then developed were accepted everywhere as final.

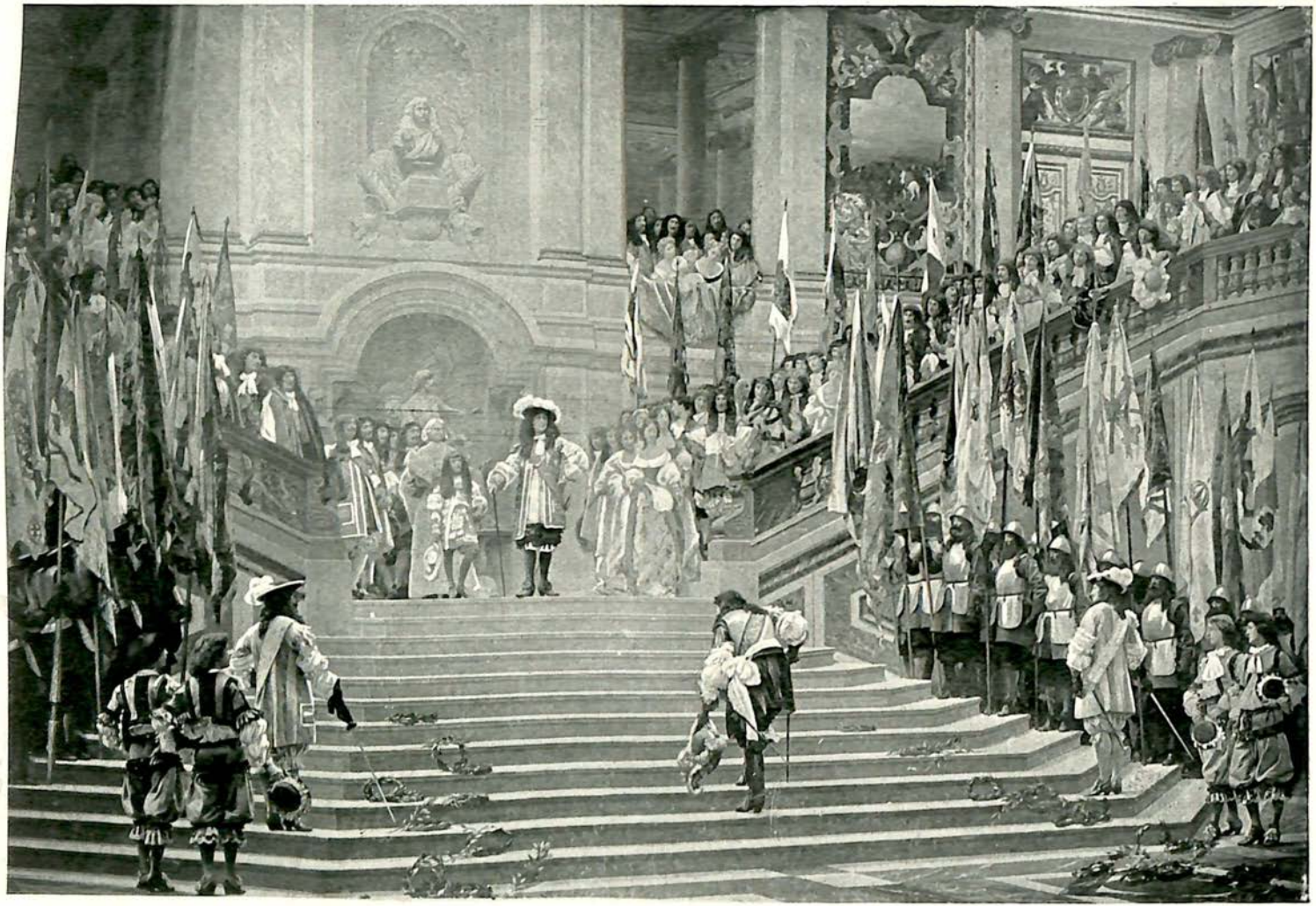
Mazarin is said to have declared upon his deathbed, in speaking to Louis: "Sir, I owe everything to you, but I pay my debt in giving you Colbert." If Louis had been willing to work with a prime minister instead of performing those functions for himself, the only man capable of taking Mazarin's place was Fouquet, the superintendent of finance. He never secured the confidence of Louis, probably because Mazarin distrusted him. Colbert was at first associated with him in the department of finance, and was instructed to keep a careful eye upon his accounts. Eventually he was dismissed by Louis, and charged both with high treason and peculation. The former charge was absurd; the latter may well have been true, but it must be remembered that financial dishonesty was everywhere common, and that Mazarin was himself as guilty as Fouquet. But in order to punish smaller men, and bring some order into an utterly rotten system, it was necessary to begin by striking at the head. Fouquet disappeared and Colbert took his place.

He was to France in the sphere of domestic policy what Richelieu had been for the foreign policy of the country. From 1661–72 he was practically supreme over every department except that of war, and to his untiring energy and prudent administration Louis owed a great deal of his future success. He did all that could be done to correct the revenue abuses and reform the corrupt system of taxation, and by increasing the methods of indirect taxation he placed some burden upon those who had hitherto been privileged to escape. He further enriched France by the improvements which he introduced into trade and commerce. Manufactures were fostered and fresh industries were begun. Foreign workmen were invited to the country; good roads and canals were projected and made. Several new companies were founded, including the French East India Company, in 1664. In the West Indies France held half a dozen islands; in Africa there was Senegal, and she had a footing in Madagascar; while in America she had firm hold of the province of Canada. With the aid of the famous engineer, Vauban, Colbert fortified the ports of Calais, Dunkirk, Brest, and other places. He created a fleet which was able to rival any other in European waters. He gave encouragement to art and literature, founding French academies in various towns, patronizing painters and sculptors, and providing pensions for such literary men as Molière, Racine, and Boileau. In short, he treated France as a landowner might treat a large and impoverished estate. He had the same respect for detail and the same tireless and laborious energy as his master, and the large annual surplus revenue with which he replaced the former deficit provided the sinews of war with which Louis was to begin his foreign policy.

This policy, generally speaking, was directed to forming a great French empire which should become the arbiter of Europe. At the outset Louis desired to extend the French frontiers to the Rhine and to the Scheldt, to improve his colonial empire, to secure his own election as emperor, and thus to appear as the head of the Catholic Church. In moving towards the Rhine, Louis was merely following the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, but, as before, he must incur the enmity of Austria, to balance which he must preserve his connection with Turkey, Poland, and Sweden. More important for him was the possession of the Scheldt, to attain which it would be necessary to absorb those provinces now known as Belgium into the French kingdom. The consequence would be a breach with Spain and Holland, while if England followed her true policy she would join in the attempt to resist the encroachment of France in this direction. Louis found that the weakness of some of the European powers was a considerable help in the prosecution of these schemes. The emperor was fully occupied with the task of repelling a Turkish invasion. England was about to sink into insignificance under Charles II, and Spain had become too weak even to prevent the formation of the kingdom of Portugal. In 1665, after the death of Philip IV, Louis proceeded to claim the Spanish Netherlands in the name of his wife, who was the only daughter of Philip IV by his first marriage, and was therefore, according to the *jus devolutionis*—a local custom—the heiress of the Low Countries. This was a mere pretence; the custom that upon a man's death the children of his first wife should inherit to the exclusion of children by a later marriage did not obtain throughout the whole of the Spanish Netherlands, and, in any case, only concerned private property. Moreover, a previous act of renunciation, into which Louis had entered, annulled all rights of succession. Louis, however, asserted that his wife's dowry had never been paid, and that the renunciation made at the time of her betrothal was therefore null and void. His claim was thus entirely flimsy, but Spain was unable to defend her provinces; England and Holland were at war, and there seemed little to oppose his filibustering expedition. In 1667 he led an army into the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch, naturally fearing that their country would follow, made peace with England, and formed a Triple Alliance with England and Sweden. The allies, however, found it difficult to induce Spain to allow them to interfere upon her behalf. Eventually, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, Louis was allowed to keep such towns as he had already conquered on his northern frontier. Charles II of Spain might die at any moment, in which case the succession to the Spanish throne would become an open question. The peace was little more than an armistice, and Louis had every intention of continuing the struggle at some future date.

Apart from his desire to secure his northern frontier, he resented the interference of the Dutch in the preceding war. They represented for him the powers of Protestantism and self-government, for both of which he had a profound abhorrence. His first task was to isolate

Holland by withdrawing her allies, England and Sweden. Charles II of England was convinced of his absolute dependence upon the recognition of Catholicism by his people. When he became a Catholic, in 1669, Louis offered him every help to secure his position in return for his assistance against the Dutch. This arrangement was concluded by the Treaty of Dover in 1670. A successful attack upon Spain was made with the support of England and her fleet. In alliance with the Dutch fleet it could have swept the seas of French commerce. Sweden was persuaded, by her jealousy of Denmark, to receive a large sum in hard cash and an annual subsidy, in return for which she was to hold Denmark and North Germany in check. In 1672 Louis declared war upon the United Provinces and crossed the frontiers of the republic with an army of at least 100,000 men, commanded by the greatest generals of the age, Condé and Turenne, and accompanied by the greatest master of siege work and fortification, Vauban. The opening campaign was one triumphal march. Three of the United Provinces were in Louis's hands after a few days, and had he pushed rapidly on there is no doubt that he could have captured Amsterdam. The celebrated De Witts advised the republic to make peace, but another party, led by the young prince of Orange, William III, afterwards king of England, a worthy descendant of William the Silent, declared for resistance to the uttermost. The De Witts fell in a popular rising, and the prince of Orange was placed in supreme command as stadtholder. Meanwhile Louis was wasting time in reducing certain fortresses on the Yssel when he might have been before the walls of Amsterdam, and this against the advice of his most capable general, Turenne. The result was that the Dutch were able to open their dykes and inundate the surrounding country, and the French were obliged to retreat. Meanwhile the rest of Europe, in alarm at the aggressive policy of France, had begun a coalition which threatened Louis with the greatest danger. The emperor, the Dutch, Lorraine, and Spain agreed to act together, while it seemed likely that public feeling in England would force Charles II to withdraw from the alliance. This latter possibility became a fact in 1674, in which year the French invaded the Franche Comté, a province henceforward subject to the authority of Louis, and thus paved the way for the future conquest of Alsace and Lorraine and the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine. In 1675 Sweden made her first attempt to assist her French allies in the north, and received a severe defeat at Fehrbellin. Louis was obliged to abandon his recent conquests in Holland and assume the defensive. In 1675 the death of Turenne was a severe blow to the French prospects of success, and in the same year Condé was obliged to retire from his command owing to ill health. Since 1676 a congress had been sitting at Nimeguen to discuss terms of peace, but not until 1678 were these arranged. Louis, by dint of treaties with his several adversaries, was to give up his conquests in Spain, but was able to retain a large number of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, together with the Franche



RECEPTION OF THE GREAT CONDÉ BY LOUIS XIV AT VERSAILLES, 1674

After the painting by J. L. Gérôme

Comté, and thus he emerged from the struggle against half Europe with increased reputation and extended territory. In 1680 the authorities of Paris gave him the title of the "Great", and probably at no other time did he reach a loftier pinnacle of power.

At the same time he had by no means realized his ideal of securing a strongly defended frontier line on every side of France. The northern and southern frontiers, thanks to the work of Vauban, were safe, but Louis saw with much anxiety a weak spot upon the Rhine. Nor would he be satisfied until he had made this river the boundary of France, for which purpose he must have possession of Luxemburg, Lorraine, and Alsace. Of the cities which he there seized in 1681 and the following years the most important was Strasburg. A flimsy claim served him as a pretext for war. By the Treaty of Westphalia the sovereignty of upper and lower Alsace had been given to Louis, with the exception of certain imperial cities which claimed independence. Louis was resolved to sweep away this barrier to his authority. The bishops of certain towns played into his hands. Summoned by him to do homage in accordance with his claims, they asked that a court might be instituted to decide upon the validity of their position. The committee thus formed became the first Chamber of Recognition, and by a form of mock trial Louis was granted every claim that he desired. As the courts gave their bought decisions Louis steadily advanced, until Strasburg found herself isolated. Resistance to this encroachment was impossible; the emperor Leopold was fully occupied with the Turks, who laid siege to Vienna in 1683. In 1681 Louis seized Strasburg and actually began the siege of Luxemburg. This, however, was too much for both England and Holland. The capture of that province would give France the strategical key to both the Netherlands, and it seemed likely that a European war would break out over the question. Louis was particularly anxious to prevent any interference on the part of England. He therefore raised the siege of Luxemburg and authorized his envoy to negotiate a peace with the emperor and the other interested parties, which was passed at Ratisbon in 1684. It was agreed that for thirty years Louis should remain in possession of the territory he had grabbed, and his next business was to convert this truce into a permanent settlement by increasing his power and prestige during the interval.

About this time Colbert died and Louis lost a valuable adviser. He and his country had now reached the zenith of their power, and henceforward his wars and struggles did but serve to maintain his position. This, however, was great and glorious; Europe feared him and his subjects admired him, but the period of peace which followed the Truce of Ratisbon was used by Europe to form a powerful league against him, and by Louis to beautify his residence at Versailles, to watch the interests of his colonial empire, and to ruin his own fortunes by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Vast sums of money were spent upon Versailles. Louis had a passion for building almost Oriental in its magnificence. The situation was wholly unsuited for

a palace, but Louis was determined to conquer nature as he had conquered everything else. Sixty leagues of aqueducts were required to bring water; Louis attempted to supply this want by means of canals, the construction of which cost a vast amount of trouble and human lives. However, the palace was completed, and Louis resided there and received foreign ambassadors, among whom was included even an embassy from Siam—strong evidence of the extent of his interests and of his reputation.

The motives which led Louis to expel the Huguenots from France and the results of his action are precisely comparable with those which led Philip III of Spain to drive out his Morisco subjects. In both cases a passion for religious uniformity and a desire for absolute domination were the leading motives, and in both cases the result was a severe shock to the trade and commerce of the kingdom by the removal of bodies of men who formed the flower of the nation. The French, as a whole, were entirely in sympathy with Louis, and their animosity was inflamed by the unsleeping hatred of the French clergy. Huguenot persecution had begun soon after the death of Mazarin. Frivolous interpretations were put upon the Edict of Nantes: Huguenot burials were forbidden during the daytime, on the ground that no clause could be found permitting them. New churches were pulled down, on the pretence that the edict only authorized the existence of those already built when it was passed. In 1669 a large emigration of the Huguenots to England had taken place, and in 1680 Louis ordered that Protestant officers should be gradually dismissed from the navy. The Edict was revoked in 1685; about 300,000 emigrants left the country, including the most capable of the French middle class. The religious question, which had been allowed to fall out of sight, again became prominent, and certainly led to the formation of the League of Augsburg. The expulsion of the Vaudois, which Louis forced upon the duke of Savoy in 1686, increased the general feeling throughout Europe that some check must be put to the aggressive domination of France. Louis was no doubt deceived by his officials as to the amount of Protestantism in the country, but the fact remains that he seriously weakened himself at a time when France, more than ever, needed to be strong. England and Brandenburg were particularly benefited by the energy and the capital which the exiles carried with them. Many others emigrated to America, while some contributed to strengthen the South African republics.

Holland, Brandenburg, and England were the countries chiefly roused by the treatment of the French Protestants, and the feeling of Europe seemed to depend upon the attitude of England. If Louis was able to maintain the English alliance he would, undoubtedly, be able to secure that the Truce of Ratisbon should become a permanent peace; in which case his military preponderance in Europe would be unquestioned. But James II and his English subjects were by no means in harmony, and even the Roman Catholic party about him was divided upon the political question. Pope Innocent IX condemned the revo-

cation of the Edict of Nantes as likely to imperil the interests of Rome within France. He saw that Louis was anxious to be supreme within his Church as he was within his state, and that his own interests, rather than those of religion, as such, were the strongest motives for his action. The moderate Catholic party in England supported the Pope, while the Jesuits about the king's person were anxious to see a closer alliance with Louis. James attempted to discuss the matter with the Pope, with a view to the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England, but meanwhile, in 1686, the League of Augsburg was formed, ostensibly with the object of preserving the Peaces of Westphalia and Nimeguen and the Truce of Ratisbon. The emperor, the kings of Spain and Sweden, the Dutch of the United Provinces, Bavaria, Franconia, and the upper Rhine provinces were the first members of the league, and the Pope joined it in the following year, as also did Savoy. It included Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists alike, and with the adherence of England it would be complete. Louis at once demanded that the Truce of Ratisbon should become a peace, which demand was supported by James II; and to carry his point and find an excuse for beginning hostilities he claimed certain districts in the palatinate as the property of his sister-in-law, the duchess of Orleans, much to the disgust of the duchess, who strongly objected to the king's action and to the ravages of his troops in her provinces. The Rhine district was in many parts reduced to the condition of a desert. The town of Heidelberg was burned, and the Rhine provinces were inspired with an inextinguishable hatred of the name of Louis. Meanwhile William of Orange had sailed for England to act as the saviour of Protestantism and preserve the balance of power in Europe. England then came into line with the members of the League of Augsburg, and was able, for the time being, to act in hearty co-operation with Holland. It seemed that the best way of neutralizing England was to invade Ireland, and from this base to maintain the cause of James II; English and Dutch action would thus be paralysed. But the battle of the Boyne, in 1691, put an end to these plans, and prevented any chance of using Ireland as a base for French expeditions against England. England's chief importance during the succeeding struggle was the part she played in her contest with the French for the supremacy of the sea. The battle of La Hogue, in 1692, destroyed any hopes that Louis might have had of forcing England to make peace, and so obliging the League of Augsburg to reconsider the situation. The Continental war becomes little more than a dreary list of sieges and battles, unless it be described in great detail. By 1697 both sides were exhausted by the struggle, and were prepared to agree to the pacification of Ryswick. Louis was obliged to surrender a number of towns which he had seized before the beginning of the war, including Luxemburg. However, he retained his hold on Strasburg, to the great anger of the Germans. This merely marked a breathing-space in the course of the general struggle against the power of France, and every diplomatist must have seen that when the question of the Spanish Succession came to the front the old antagonism would break out again.

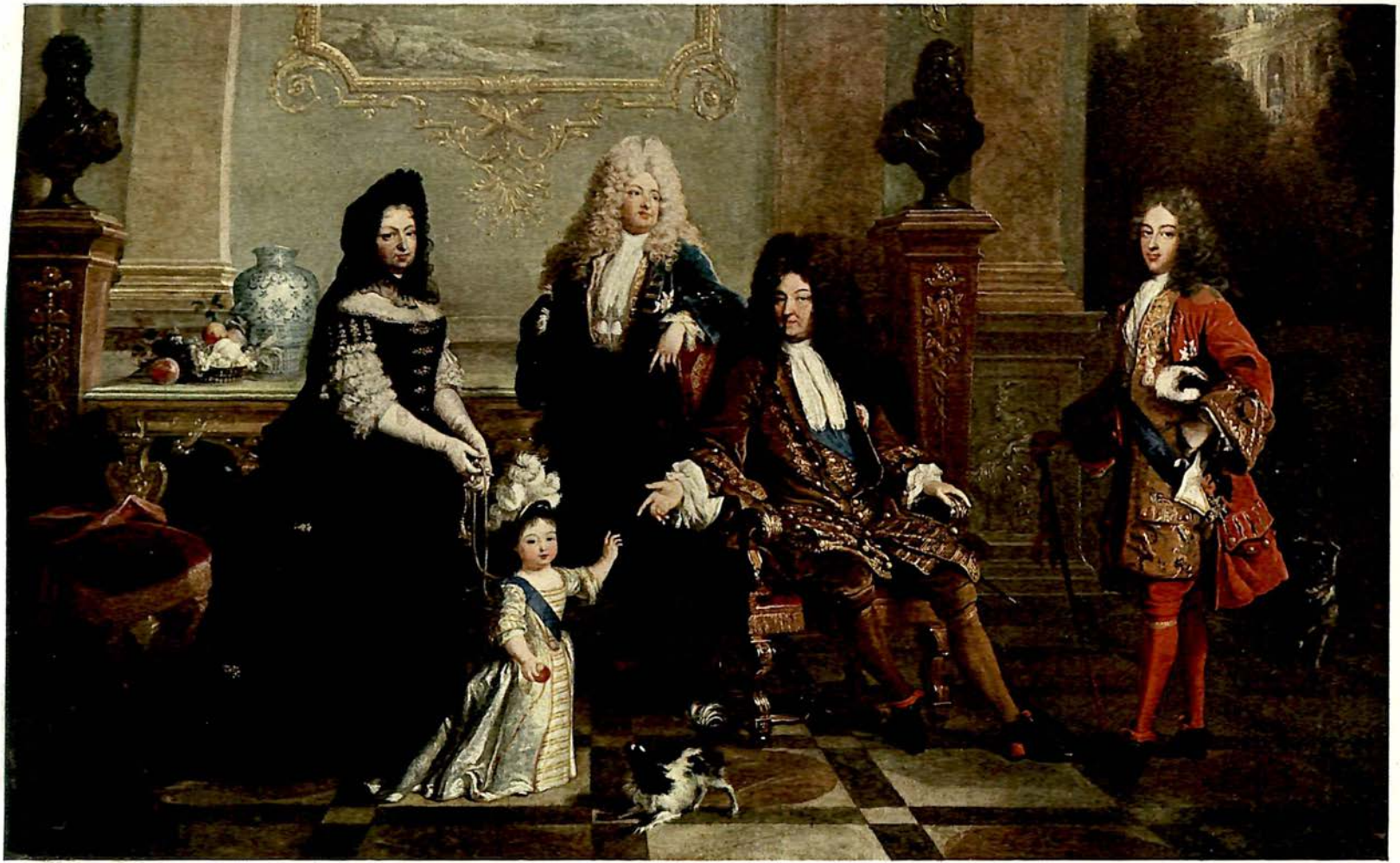
By the year 1700 this question imperatively demanded solution. Charles II, the last male descendant of the great emperor, Charles V, died and left his crown to Philip, duke of Anjou, and grandson of Louis XIV. An infinite amount of intrigue and a portentous expenditure of diplomacy had preceded this decision. Louis had a claim upon the Spanish throne as the husband of Maria Theresa. She, indeed, had signed a deed of renunciation upon her marriage; but he could argue, as he had argued before, that her dowry had not been paid. The Austrian claims were based by Leopold upon the fact that his mother was a sister of Philip IV, and that his wife had been the younger daughter of Philip IV; neither of these had signed a deed of renunciation. Leopold was prepared to give the throne of Spain to the archduke Charles, his son. Spain and Austria had been closely connected for years as possessions of the two branches of the house of Hapsburg, and Spain ought to regard France as her natural enemy. The third candidate was the son of the elector of Bavaria. He probably had the strongest legal claims to the succession if legality was likely to be considered; nor, as king of Spain, would he disturb the balance of power or endanger the peace of Europe. The emperor, however, declined to support his claim, and urged that of his son, the archduke Charles. Shortly after the Peace of Ryswick, England, France, and Holland attempted to settle this difficult question by means of a Partition Treaty. This was concluded in 1698, after a vast amount of haggling, and by its terms the electoral prince of Bavaria was to have the throne of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies in the New World, while the archduke Charles was to have Milan, and the duke of Anjou the Two Sicilies and the Tuscan ports. These arrangements came to nothing, for the reason that the electoral prince died in the following year, and a further Partition Treaty had therefore to be arranged. The archduke Charles, under this arrangement, which was ratified in 1700, was to receive what had formerly been allotted to the electoral prince, while the duke of Anjou was to have the remainder. The Spaniards and Charles II strongly objected to this arrangement, and Charles signed a will leaving his dominions to the duke of Anjou. He then died, on 1 November, 1700, and Louis was left to consider whether he should accept the terms of the will. His engagements with England and Holland caused him some hesitation, but the thought of the prestige and power which would accrue from the union of the Spanish and French kingdoms outweighed all other considerations, and he decided to accept the will. On Tuesday, 16 November, 1700, he introduced his grandson to the court as Philip V of Spain. His thoughts were probably expressed by the Spanish ambassador, who exclaimed, as reported by Saint-Simon: "There are no more Pyrenees. They have vanished and we are but one nation."

To discuss the morality of this proceeding would be beside the mark. Political morality in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed greatly from that recognized in our own age. Public opinion did not reprehend the breaking of treaties, nor was it so very long since assas-

LOUIS XIV WITH HIS SON, THE GRAND DAUPHIN, ETC. From the painting by Nicolas de Largilière in the Wallace Collection, London.

Thispicture shows four generations of French royalty about four years before the close of Louis XIV's reign. There is Louis XIV himself, seated; his eldest son, the Grand Dauphin, behind him; his eldest grandson, the Duc de Bourgogne; and the third son of the latter, the infant Duc d'Anjou, who succeeded Louis XIV in 1715 as Louis XV. The lady is Madame de Maintenon, second wife of Louis XIV. The bronze busts in the background are those of Henry IV and Louis XIII, grandfather and father of Louis XIV, completing six generations.

The painter, Nicolas de Largillière, was born in 1656 and died in 1746. He was one of the most brilliant portrait painters of his age.



LOUIS XIV, WITH HIS SON, THE GRAND DAUPHIN, ETC. LARGILLIÈRE

sination had ceased to be recognized as a justifiable political weapon. Louis probably thought that he was bound to have a European war upon his hands whatever his ultimate decision, and, as has been well said, if, in view of the terms of the will, he had allowed the archduke Charles to succeed, he would have deserved to be canonized as a saint, but would have lost all claim to be a statesman. Philip proceeded to Madrid, and soon showed himself totally incapable of grappling with the work of government, which would have tasked the powers of a Colbert or a Richelieu. Most of his time he spent in lamenting his exile from France, and Louis's attempts to govern Spain through his grandson were foiled by the provincial independence of the nobles and by a power of inertia which none but the most energetic measures could have overcome. Had Louis been willing to abide by the terms of the will the European war might possibly have been averted. Under it provision was made for the independence of the Spanish monarchy, but Louis reserved the rights of Philip to the French throne, and also seized the line of Spanish fortresses known as the Dutch Barrier, positions including Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons, and of the utmost importance to Holland. English and Dutch opinion was roused to fierce excitement, and William III proceeded to lay the foundations of the Grand Alliance between England, the emperor, and Holland, which was afterwards joined by Portugal and Savoy. Louis, observing that war was inevitable, resolved that such resources as Spain possessed must be turned to his own advantage, and undertook the supervision of Spanish affairs in addition to those of his own kingdom. He created a supreme council of four persons to reorganize the finances of the country, and to reform the army and navy. The medium of communication between himself and Madrid was the French ambassador. To govern two countries, to conduct the details of European diplomacy, and, for part of the time, to supervise the conduct of a war was a Herculean task for the most capable of administrators. The Spaniards, moreover, showed the strongest objection to being reformed, and a party in favour of the archduke was formed within the country. Louis made a further mistake in underrating the power of England. Under Queen Anne, England was strong and united, and steadily growing in strength. Moreover, Louis no longer commanded the services of the capable generals and administrators who had served him in the war with the Netherlands. Favouritism had destroyed the efficiency of several of the state departments, while Louis's confidence in himself was overweening. His attempt to direct the progress of the campaign from Versailles was the cause of serious disasters. His geographical information was, for instance, often of a very elementary character. Such mistakes could not be afforded in the face of generals like Marlborough and Eugène. By the end of 1703 Marlborough had driven the French out of the electorate of Cologne, and had captured Liège, Bonn, and Luxemburg.

Louis, however, had decided that Germany and Italy should be made the seat of war, and withdrew many of his troops from Flanders to reinforce the main army of Villars. In 1703 this general planned

a brilliant and audacious march upon Vienna. The Hungarians were in rebellion, the Austrian troops in Italy were fully occupied, and the help of his ally, the elector of Bavaria, opened the road for his army of 40,000 men. The plan was only defeated by the vacillation of the elector of Bavaria, who left Villars in isolation on the Danube. However, he succeeded in extricating himself from his difficulties until 1704, when Marlborough's famous march to the Danube was followed by the battle of Blenheim, which saved Vienna from the possibility of a French invasion. In 1705 the anti-French party in Spain had gained a great accession of strength; the Anglo-Portuguese army was able to proclaim the archduke Charles as king of the country, in Madrid, in 1706. Catalonia and Valencia declared for the archduke, and other provinces were wavering. Then there was the defeat of Villeroy at Ramillies, and another defeat at Turin in 1706. The Netherlands were lost, French prospects in Italy were ruined, and Louis seemed inclined to open negotiations for peace. The allies, however, very mistakenly declined to treat, and a desperate struggle on the part of the whole country secured a victory at Almanza, on 7 April, 1707, which, at any rate, secured Louis in possession of Spain. He now realized that he could not carry on a war in four countries at once, and resolved to evacuate Italy and concentrate his efforts on his northern frontier and on Spain. Moreover, the state of the French finances was one of appalling disorder; the most extraordinary taxes had been levied, even upon marriages and baptisms, to secure money for the continuance of the war. In 1708 and 1709 a terribly hard winter caused the most widespread distress. People clamoured for bread almost within the hearing of the king. Many peasants were starved to death, and the nation seemed face to face with bankruptcy. By 1709 Louis was sincerely desirous of peace, and was prepared to accept almost any terms. Meanwhile the loyalty to Philip in Castile and the excellence of Louis's reforms in Spain had produced a considerable change in the attitude of that country. Nearly the whole of Spain was ready to support Philip; there was the widest objection to any partition of the Spanish empire. If, therefore, Louis arranged a peace, he would speak only for himself, and could give no guarantee that Spain would accept such terms as he might think satisfactory. He therefore followed Philip's example and appealed to the loyalty of his own subjects. Their enthusiasm provided him once more with the sinews of war. Louis withdrew his troops from Spain, in 1709, and devoted himself to the defence of his own country.

Under Marshal Villars was fought the battle of Malplaquet, near the town of Mons, which Villars was attempting to save from the allies. The result was a defeat for the French, but it was a battle in which they showed that it was possible to withstand the dreaded Marlborough and Eugène; if the French lost the battle they lost only 12,000 men as compared with the 20,000 of the allies. Louis again offered to make peace, but the answer was that until Philip had been dethroned no treaty of any kind could be discussed, and Louis therefore

resolved to continue the war. The Spanish nation was more than ever determined to support Philip, and the forces of the archduke Charles had been twice defeated in 1710. Both sides, however, were tired of the war; Marlborough had fallen into disgrace; Villars won a victory over the allies, unsupported by the English, at Dinan, on 12 January, 1712, and the Congress of Utrecht was opened. The whole aspect of the Spanish question had been further changed by the death of the Emperor Leopold in 1705, and the death of his son, the Emperor Joseph, in 1711, which brought the Archduke Charles to the imperial throne. No power showed any desire to re-establish the grand monarchy of Charles V, and, after long negotiations, the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and that of Rastadt in 1714. Louis attained his ultimate object; the Bourbon prince, Philip of Anjou, remained upon the throne of Spain, but it was arranged that the French and Spanish crowns should never be assumed by one and the same ruler. Spain was also obliged to consent to a partition of her outlying dominions. England obtained Gibraltar and Minorca; Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands were given to Austria, while the duke of Savoy obtained Sicily. France was also obliged to abandon some of her colonial possessions. Nova Scotia was ceded to England, whose sovereignty was also admitted over Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territory. England also obtained the contract known as the Assiento, which gave her the sole right, for thirty years, of shipping 4800 African slaves a year to the Spanish colonies in America. This contract had been previously held by the French and by the Dutch. The Spaniards were shut out from Africa by treaty engagements with the Portuguese, and by the so-called Papal line of demarcation, drawn up by Pope Alexander VI after the return of Columbus from his voyage. They were, therefore, obliged to depend upon other nations for the importation of slaves. England, in short, emerged from this war with her naval supremacy unquestioned and paramount.

Louis died on 1 September, 1715. The last years of the "sun king" had been spent amid perplexity, trouble, and grief. He was conscious of the fact that his long, disastrous wars had impaired the power of his country and embittered the lives of his people. He had lost the Dauphin, and two of his grandsons, and the remaining heir to the throne, a great-grandson, was a child five years of age. His death was received throughout France with universal rejoicing. The country was sick of war and of military glory, overwhelmed with debt, and torn by religious dissensions. Whatever might have been the result of Louis's foreign policy his domestic policy had been a grand failure. But at any rate the brilliancy of his court had been the envy and the model of Europe; enormous sums were spent upon building, upon pensions, and luxury. The royal household numbered over 15,000 persons; the old feudal aristocracy, who had lost their ancient power and wealth, were now content to embellish the king's court as spectators and pensioners. It was under Louis that was first definitely crystallized that meticulous and absurd form of etiquette which accom-

panied his uprising and his down-sitting, and beset court life until the days of the Revolution. Saint-Simon has left full descriptions of the daily life at Versailles and Marly. The stages which marked the king's *lever*, the rules which governed the right of entry to these functions, and the stress that was laid upon correctness of word and action made life a long round of fatigue, weariness, and insipidity to those courtiers who were not to the manner born. Nor did the stereotyped etiquette prove any barrier to immorality. Louis XIV's court may have been more decent than that of Henry of Navarre, but the difference did not go far below the veneer of civilization. Louis was prepared to befriend poets and literary men, as he might thus extend the reputation of his court. To give a full description of the literary movements during his reign would be to write a long chapter in French literature. Apart from the dramatic literature of his reign, philosophy made a beginning with Descartes; Pascal wrote his famous *Provincial Letters*; letter writers such as Mme de Sévigné, annalists such as Saint-Simon, satirists like La Bruyère, left pictures of social life of imperishable value to the historian and the student of literature. Bossuet and Fénelon gave France an oratorical style, and Louis could pride himself upon the fact that his country was as supreme in literature as in other departments. But as he was the chief exponent of absolute monarchy, so he was its chief destroyer. Extravagant expenditure upon a luxurious court, the crushing burden of long wars needlessly waged for self-aggrandizement, loaded France with burdens intolerable, and the consequent misery and suffering largely paved the way for the theories and preaching which prepared the minds of the French nation for the Revolution.

CHAPTER XI

John Sobieski (A.D. 1629–96)

The most important event in the history of Poland, with the exception of the conversion of the Poles to Christianity, was the union of Lithuania with Poland, which was completed in the year 1386 by the marriage of the Polish princess Hedwig with the Lithuanian Jagiello, then baptized as Vladislav II. Hitherto three political centres had existed in Eastern Europe: these were now reduced to two, Poland and Russia. Lithuania sank her individuality in that of Poland, and the country which had hitherto been inclined to lean upon Hungary for support now found itself strong enough to act independently. The result was seen in the outcome of the struggle with the Teutonic Order of Knights in 1410, when the army of the Order was annihilated, and the Polish army sang the Te Deum for the first time in the Polish language. The growing aggressions of the Order were thus brought to an end, and the power of Poland extended from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. With the diminution of German influence began the rise of Slavonic culture. Hedwig had endowed a college at the University of Prague for the benefit of Lithuanian students; to her munificence was due the permanent foundation of the University of Cracow, where Nicholas Copernicus afterwards studied theology, medicine, mathematics, and astrology. Embassies soon appeared in Cracow to offer the crown of Bohemia to the king of Poland. Jagiello and many of his successors were, however, hampered by a constitution very difficult to work. The *Slachta*, or national assembly, was composed of a large number of princes and nobles who could rarely be persuaded to work in unity for the common good. They were inclined to regard the king rather as an enemy than as a leader, and to examine any actions of his upon the presupposition that they were so many attempts to limit their own independence. The right of *liberum veto*, by the exercise of which any one province could thwart the collective action of the whole assembly, constantly proved a serious obstacle to the accomplishment of business, and Poland too often appears as an unwieldy congeries of states, divided by local antipathies and mutual suspicions, and unable to compensate by unanimity and decision for the lack of any geographical boundaries which might lead to coherence.

It was under Vladislav Jagiello II that this fatal defect became a permanent element in the constitution. He legally recognized the right of the Polish Parliament to meet, and placed the chief power of state in the hands of the nobility. But no regulations were made

deciding how, when, or by whom the assembly was to be convened. Any number of nobles who were able to meet had the right of deciding upon affairs of state, and attempts made in 1540 to fix a definite number of deputies were defeated. Each noble was a deputy by birth, and could claim a share in the imperial government. The eventual result was not republicanism but anarchy. Attempts to break down the power of the nobles resulted in ultimate failure; there was no prosperous middle class in the country of sufficient strength to provide the king with support, and the exactions of a feudal system maintained in its most onerous forms kept the peasantry in a constant state of degradation, while exerting a disastrous influence upon trade and industry. John Albert I, who succeeded Casimir IV in 1492, is an instance of a king who attempted to govern without a Senate. The nobles declined to grant supplies, and the king was forced to make concessions which reduced the unfortunate peasantry to a state of serfdom; wages, for example, were maintained at a low rate by forbidding the emigration of peasants even to Prussia and Silesia for the harvest season.

With the accession of Sigismund (in 1506) a change in the political situation became apparent. Ivan III of Russia had thrown off the yoke of the Tartars, under which Russia had long been groaning, and was prepared to claim the Russian districts of Poland. In Lithuania the adherents of the orthodox Greek Church cherished strong anti-Polish sentiments which Ivan was prepared to utilize for his own advantage. He was also in alliance with the Teutonic Order, and opened relations with the German Emperor, Maximilian, who was a rival of the Jagiellos for the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. He also maintained a friendly attitude towards Turkey. The Turkish power had now reached its zenith, and Sigismund was obliged to contemplate decisive action if the Hungarian crown was to be saved from the Osman advance. The outbreak of the Hapsburg and Valois struggle drove Poland and Germany into alliance. On 22 July, 1515, was concluded the momentous Treaty of Vienna, by which the Jagiellos renounced their claims to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. The foundations of the Austrian Empire and of the house of Hapsburg were thus laid, and Poland was free to turn her attention towards the west. Geographical reasons supported this change of front. Connection with Hungary was barred by a range of mountains, and both Hungary and Bohemia naturally gravitated to Austria rather than to Poland, and were drawn together by the struggle against the Turks for the possession of the line of the Danube.

On the other hand, Poles and Russians seemed to recognize one another as natural enemies. The great plains of eastern Europe had been swept by successive waves of migration, the stronger submerging the weaker until two nationalities alone were left pre-eminent. Connected by community of racial origin, preserving similar economic and political interests, Poland and Russia might have united as easily as Poland and Lithuania; but the conflict was to be one of ideas and principles rather than of races. The Roman Catholic was opposed to the orthodox Church; republicanism confronted despotism. The

latter principles were as incompatible as the former. Despotism had saved Russia from a Tartar domination, and her people were profoundly convinced of the blessings of absolute monarchy, a conviction which a glance at the conditions of Poland seemed only to confirm. When the struggle between the two nationalities began, Poland was in a state of hopeless disunion. The king was obliged to purchase the support of the nobles by means of continual concessions. The Slachta decided upon peace and war, and required pay for campaigns beyond the borders of the empire and indemnity for any losses which they incurred. The king supported the whole expensive and unprofitable burden of responsibility. Yet the same nobles looked with contempt upon the lives which the Russians led beneath the despotism of the Tsar, and pointed proudly to the freedom of their own constitution. Fully conscious of one another's defects, each nation was blind to its own.

The two last Jagiellos, Sigismund and his son, Sigismund Augustus, were well aware of the causes of Polish weakness, and their reigns are a series of attempts to diminish the power of the nobles and to strengthen the crown; but their efforts, however well meant, were unable to check the progress of decay. Sigismund Augustus succeeded in conquering Livonia from the Knights of the Teutonic Order, an important acquisition for Poland. Russia was even then aware that access to the Baltic was essential to her if she was to take her place among European powers. Sweden was equally interested, and her friendly overtures led to a marriage between John, the brother of the Swedish king, and Catherine, the daughter of the Polish king, in 1562. Their son became king of Poland, as Sigismund III, in 1587. Poland was, however, further distracted by the advance of Lutheranism and the efforts of the crown to support the Roman Catholic Church. Upon Sigismund's death Poland became an elective monarchy, the Jagiello dynasty being extinct. The inglorious reign of Henry of Anjou, the first elected monarch, was ended by his flight to France in 1574 in order to secure the French crown upon the death of Charles IX. Poland elected Stephen Bathory in his place, one of the very few rulers who were able to check the decadence of the kingdom. He drove back the Russians from the Baltic, and reduced the unruly Slachta to some semblance of obedience. He protected the peasants from the oppression of the nobles, and organized the Cossacks in the Ukraine as a bulwark against Russia. After his death, in 1586, the Swedish prince, Sigismund, was elected, and, while domestic evils reappeared, the country was drawn into the troubled waters of Swedish politics. Religious disturbances were an additional cause of confusion. The king was determined to support Roman Catholicism, and neighbouring governments intrigued with the religious parties in the country for the purpose of furthering their own political interests. Though the anarchy of the nobles was at its height, and though the Cossacks were continually threatening revolt, Sigismund was so rash as to aspire to the crown of Sweden, and so imprudent as to be drawn into the Thirty Years' War. A strong

Russian policy, for which events were then favourable, might have provided occupation for his nobles and have strengthened his kingdom; but he perversely turned his attention by preference to the west until his death in 1632. The brief reign of his successor Vladislaus IV was marked by the great Cossack rebellion. The Cossack power had been founded by fugitives of many nationalities—Poles, Tartars, Russians, and others—who occupied the wide steppes between the borders of Poland and Turkey and there formed a kind of military republic. Their captain, or *hetman*, was invested only with military authority. The freedom of their existence was a great attraction to the oppressed in Poland, and severe enactments were passed upon several occasions to prevent the wholesale migration of the Polish peasants. The Slachta naturally regarded the Cossacks and their democratic constitution with contempt, as a collection of fugitives who had evaded their duty to their overlords. Stephen Bathory's prudence had seen that these bold frontiersmen could be organized to restrain the constant incursions of Turks, Tartars, and Wallachians under which Poland often suffered. But the Cossacks were adherents of the Greek Church, and the aggressions of Roman Catholicism, coupled with the political contempt and bad faith of the Poles, was a constant source of friction.

John Casimir ascended the throne in 1649 and abdicated in 1668. He twice defeated the Cossacks, who then transferred their allegiance to Russia. His assertion of a claim to the Swedish crown as a member of the house of Vasa resulted in war with Charles X. Poland was reduced to great extremities: the country was overrun by the Swedes, the Great Elector of Brandenburg captured Prussia, Russians and Cossacks invaded the eastern provinces, and the king fled to Silesia. Poland was obliged to cede Livonia to Sweden, and the king renounced his claims to the Swedish crown. Never had the Slachta shown a greater lack of patriotism: many of them assisted the Swedes, and betrayed towns and provinces into their hands; many were in the pay of foreign powers; parties and even individuals pursued independent policies of their own. "The king", says a contemporary annalist, "can do as much as he can personally effect by good fortune and cleverness. The nobles can do what they like; they associate with the king, not as peers, but as brothers." Subjected to disintegrating forces of such strength, and undermined by venality and moral degeneracy, it is surprising that the state retained any power of coherence. Yet her fame was once more to shine brightly in the gaze of Europe; in the words of a priest after the deliverance of Vienna: "There was a man sent whose name was John".

John Sobieski, immortal as the deliverer of Vienna from the Turks, was born in 1629. His father was James Sobieski, the castellan of Cracow, who had married Theophile, the granddaughter of Zolkiewski, a famous Polish general who inflicted severe defeats on the Russians in 1606 and 1609, and nearly succeeded in placing a Pole upon the Muscovite throne. In 1620 he fell in a desperate combat against the Turks, and his great-grandson was brought up in an atmosphere of

JOHN SOBIESKI (JOHN III), KING OF POLAND

After the portrait which was formerly in the Louvre, Paris: now at Versailles. Artist unknown.

hatred for Turkey comparable with that felt by Hannibal for the Romans. James Sobieski was a cultured and learned man; his large estates and his wealth enabled him to surround himself with all the refinement that the age could show, and he carefully supervised the education of his sons. His estate at Zolkiew, at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, had come to him from his wife's family, and there he ruled almost as a petty king; a small army, euphemistically styled his bodyguard, was at his command; there were sentinels at the doors of his castle; the household was organized as a mediaeval court, with crowds of servants and retainers, young nobles learning something of court life and imbibing the prejudices of their class; horses, tapestry, precious stones, musicians, and gold plate, with an utter absence of the minor conveniences and amenities of life which modern civilization regards as indispensable. John and his brother learned several languages, learned also to dance and fence and ride, and were constantly trained by their father in the art of extempore speaking. John soon distinguished himself by his dexterity and address; he was well known as a successful hunter, and his mother's stories of the death of Zolkiewski impressed him with the idea that Turkey was the arch-enemy of Poland, and that he had a personal debt to recover from the Mohammedan Empire. The boys were sent travelling to complete their education. Anne of Austria welcomed them at Paris, where Mazarin was reigning in the name of the infant Louis XIV. In 1645 they were able to form part of the splendid embassy which was sent from Poland by Vladislaus to solicit the hand of Marie Louise of Gonzaga. The magnificence of the ambassadors' train aroused universal admiration, and the Sobieski were inferior to none in the richness of their attire. The marriage, which Vladislaus survived only eighteen months, took place at the end of the year; the bride was then thirty-six years of age. The result for Poland was an invasion of French ecclesiastics and adventurers, an increase of intercourse between the two countries, and a growing taste for French refinement. Madame de Motteville had said that though the Polish lords possessed diamonds in abundance, they were not provided with clean linen—a criticism which accurately characterized the barbaric magnificence of their social life. These were defects which the refined Queen Louise soon mended. Vladislaus died amid the turmoil consequent upon the great Cossack revolt. John Sobieski was present at the Diet of 1648 which placed John Casimir on the throne in the following year. The Cossack leader, Bogdan, had been severely defeated by the treachery of the Polish general, who attacked him while negotiations were in progress. The Cossacks therefore transferred their allegiance to Russia, and marched upon Poland supported by a large force of Russians and Tartars. John Casimir encountered this vast horde on the frontiers of the Ukraine. After a two days' battle the Polish troops were seized with panic in the night of 15 August, 1649, and it seemed that the whole army was about to scatter in confusion. The king's personal efforts to rally the troops were unavailing, but at this critical moment

John Sobieski succeeded by voice and gesture in restraining the flight. Though but twenty years of age he persuaded the troops to return to their duty, and for his service he was rewarded with the governorship of Javorow. The battle was renewed on the following day, and the Poles were completely outmanœuvred by the superior forces of the enemy. Fortunately for them, they were able to purchase peace from Bogdan at the price of concessions which should have humiliated their pride. Sobieski was a no less prominent figure throughout the many disasters which marked the reign of John Casimir; by the treaty of Oliva in 1660 Poland abandoned all claims to the Swedish throne and surrendered practically the whole of Livonia; in 1667 Smolensk was ceded to Alexis, the Tsar of Russia, and with it went Kieff and the left bank of the Dnieper. Such were the result of a series of wars in which Sobieski shared, and showed himself a brave and capable soldier; in the dissensions which disturbed the country he acted as other nobles did, in his own interests, which were often out of harmony with the wishes of the king. The question of John Casimir's successor and rumours of his intended abdication gave rise to furious discussions in the intervals between Cossack and Tartar raids and invasions, and when he finally resolved to retire he left his kingdom in a deplorable condition.

With his death the three royal lines of the Piasts, the Jagiellós, and the Vasas became extinct. Three candidates now came forward for the vacant throne, representing the kingdoms of Louis XIV, the Tsar, and Leopold of Austria. Russia was naturally anxious to absorb the great barrier which lay between herself and the civilized states of Europe. Leopold's frontiers were weakened on the east and south by the Turkish invasions, and it was impossible for him to make head against France unless he found some secure base in the north. France was equally anxious to retain her dominant position, and therefore supported the claims of the prince of Condé against those of Charles of Lorraine, the Austrian candidate, and the son of the Tsar. In short, the election to the crown of Poland was a mere matter of European competition. Nor was any one of the three candidates likely to find any real sympathy in the heart of the Polish nation. In 1669 the Diet met for the election, and the result was a series of intrigues which ended in open conflict. It was soon seen that the prospects of the Tsar's son were hopeless, and after weeks of personal conflict it was proposed to decide between the two remaining by drawing lots, when somebody urged that a native Pole should be elected, and the name of Michael Korybut was put forward, much to his own astonishment and to the general surprise of the electors, who apparently chose him to avoid further bloodshed among the supporters of the prince of Condé and Charles of Lorraine. The new monarch could trace his line from the Piasts, but he was poor, unknown, of weak health, and was at first particularly anxious to avoid the honour. He married the sister of Leopold, the emperor of Germany, in 1670, and his reign was marked by continual scenes of

disaffection and turbulence among the nobles. In 1670 Poland was invaded by the Cossacks, and Sobieski, with a few handfuls of German soldiery, badly armed and worse paid, succeeded in driving them beyond the Dniester. Meanwhile the Turks were continuing their preparations for another invasion, which burst upon the country in 1672. Sobieski alone took any trouble to organize the defence of the country. In this work he was hampered by the jealousy of the king, who refused to use his influence to procure supplies, and Sobieski was obliged to furnish these charges at his own cost. There was therefore nothing to prevent a Turkish advance, and in the year 1672 Sobieski confronted the Osman forces at Kamieniec. It seemed likely that they would soon reach the gates of Warsaw. At length, however, the country was roused by the nearness of the danger, and troops flocked to the standard of Sobieski. It was obvious that the first struggle would be for the possession of Kamieniec, a rock fortress on the frontiers of Moldavia and the Ukraine and the capital town of Podolia. Here the Turks were already in possession, and Warsaw was soon thronged with fugitives from the surrounding country. The king opened negotiations for peace, and was eventually obliged to cede the town to the Turks and to pay them a yearly tribute. But revenge came in the following year. Disturbances at Constantinople, troubles on the Adriatic, and the refusal of the Poles to pay their tribute decided the Turks to make a further advance. The sultan even seems to have entertained the idea of extending the Ottoman kingdom to the shores of the Baltic. On this occasion Mohammed IV led the army in person, and announced his intentions by throwing seven bridges across the Dniester.

Once again Sobieski undertook the defence. The campaign began in the autumn, and the severity of an early winter subjected his unprovided troops to severe trials. They naturally devastated the country on their passage, in order to supply themselves with that which the state should have furnished. It was only on 11 October that Sobieski could advance; he had no hope of retaking Kamieniec, unprovided as he was with a proper siege train; he therefore advanced with the intention of fighting a pitched battle against the Turks as soon as he could find them. The meeting took place at Chocim, a strong castle some 4 leagues from Kamieniec, though outside Polish territory, situated upon the right bank of the Dniester, and surrounded by deep ravines. The bridge thrown across one of these connected it with the Turkish camp, which was placed in a formidable position, defended by precipices and marshes. Sobieski delivered a number of feigned attacks during the night of 10 November. The Turks suffered severely from the cold, and were less watchful in consequence, and a sudden and vigorous assault enabled the Polish general to penetrate their camp. Some of his cavalry actually succeeded in scaling the precipices, while the uproar and confusion among the numerous camp followers and women hampered the Turkish efforts at resistance. These were soon ended, and the rout became a massacre. By

12 November the greater part of the huge invading horde had been slain and the camp plundered and reduced to ashes. But the day previously Michael Korybut had died, whether a victim to poison or to his own unrestrained gluttony no one now knows, and no one at the time seems to have cared.

In 1674 the Diet met at Warsaw to elect his successor. Among several candidates Charles of Lorraine and the prince of Condé again put in their claims. It seemed likely that discussion would be no less stormy than upon the previous occasion of an election, and the proposal that a Pole should rule over the country was generally re-echoed; the brilliant services of Sobieski marked him out for the post. In spite of some opposition from the hetman of Lithuania he was elected, and for a year or two his country was left in peace. In 1676, however, the Turks renewed the struggle in conjunction with the Tartars. Sobieski was again obliged to take the field. He was unable to oppose more than 20,000 men to the vast horde which entered the country, and for some time was hemmed in at Zurawno, in Galicia. But with brilliant generalship he succeeded in extricating himself, and in concluding a peace with the Turks by which Poland regained some small portion of her lost territory. The years following these events were marked by a continuance of domestic conflict, though they were undisturbed by foreign invasions. The king was well aware that this time should have been spent in placing his kingdom in some posture of defence, but the dreary record of domestic strife would have reduced the strongest of rulers to despair, and the Turks had resolved to make a definite effort. The Transylvanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, with the Russians and the Ukraine, had concluded an alliance with Hungary under the protectorate of the sublime Porte. A confederation of great states had thus been actually formed in conjunction with the Ottoman Empire, and the pusillanimous Hapsburg emperor, Leopold, was unable to close his eyes to the danger. Both he and the confederation were anxious to secure the help of Poland, and for some time Sobieski, or John III, hesitated as to the policy which he should pursue. Alliance with the confederation implied the maintenance of peace and the humiliation of Austria, his old enemy. On the other hand, a war against the Turks was popular, and nowhere was it more in favour than with Sobieski himself. The hatred of the forces of the crescent with which he had been inspired almost in his cradle seems to have turned the scale, and he threw in his lot with Austria. Leopold made some attempts to negotiate a peace, but these prospects soon disappeared. On 30 June, 1683, the gigantic Turkish army began its march from Belgrade, plundering and ravaging the country. Their intention was to capture the imperial city of Vienna, which had received news of their movements six months before. Leopold fled from the town on 7 July. The purpose of the Turks had been well known to Sobieski as early as April; he had capable agents in the Turkish court; letters were also intercepted by his couriers, and he was able to inform Leopold of the danger which threatened Vienna, and advised him to demolish the

suburbs of the town and make every preparation for a siege. Leopold argued with himself that there were other fortresses to be taken before Vienna could fall, and that two campaigns at least would be necessary to bring the Turks before the walls of the capital. When the danger confronted him he felt that there was nothing to do but to abandon the place. Sixty thousand inhabitants fled with him, to the vast and righteous indignation of those who were left behind to meet their fate; but there was little rest for the fugitives. Many of them were intercepted by the Turks, and paid for their cowardice with their lives. The duke of Lorraine succeeded in throwing some troops into the town, and Count Stahremberg, a capable soldier, was able to restore confidence. But the hearts of the inhabitants sank when they saw a second town rising before them more populous than their own, brilliant with all the luxury of Asia, with troops of camels, elephants and herds of cattle, driven down to water at the Danube; the vast citadel of silk under which the vizier housed the whole of his harem; an encampment, in short, which must have contained 300,000 combatants, apart from an enormous train of camp followers and servants. The vizier seemed determined to dazzle the enemy by thus displaying his resources, and had made but little attempt, secure in his numbers, to choose a strongly fortified position.

Meanwhile the inhabitants resolved to hold out to the last. On 16 July a general bombardment of the town took place. Count Stahremberg himself was wounded, many of the principal buildings were shattered, and the proud vizier summoned the town to capitulate. The most desperate efforts of the inhabitants to repair the breaches in their walls often hardly sufficed to withstand the recurring assaults; a whole quarter was once set on fire by the bombardment. Mines and countermines were dug; at times the contending forces met pickaxe in hand; and Leopold sent out frantic appeals to all the princes of Europe. Sobieski, on 9 August, saw the emperor's ambassador and the Papal nuncio at his feet, ready to embrace his knees in supplication. Leopold was prepared to promise anything if the Poles would only espouse his cause. On 15 August John Sobieski was ready to start; he had already obtained full information of the Turkish position, and had decided his plan of campaign before he left Cracow. The Turkish vizier was fully informed of his movements, but, confident in his immense forces, he slowly pursued the siege of Vienna, careless of any danger in his rear.

The imperial city was almost at the last gasp. Spies were occasionally sent out, and the adventures of a certain Pole named Kolszicki are as remarkable as those of Kavanagh at the siege of Lucknow. Speaking Turkish perfectly, and fully competent to assume Turkish disguises, he undertook to make his way through the enemies' camp, and was let out of the town on 13 August. He wandered unconcernedly through the streets of Turkish tents, and was actually invited into one, where he was treated to coffee, made to sing, and warned against falling into the hands of the Christians. He succeeded in

reaching the imperial army, and his safe return was announced by rockets and a column of smoke from the spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral, which became the watch tower throughout the siege. He found the garrison exhausted, an epidemic raging, and desolation and death in every quarter. In the early days of September rockets were fired every night from the towers to announce the extremities to which the city was reduced. But one evening a sentinel saw a light upon the summits of the distant hills, and the Polish hussars were presently seen descending upon the plains. The Turks divided into three bodies —one preparing to attack the rescuers, another to deliver a final assault upon the town, while the third marched away towards Hungary with the booty. Stahremberg saw that the hour of deliverance was at hand, and concentrated all his men upon the ramparts. Sobieski was accompanied by his queen, Marie Casimir, to the Polish frontier; when they parted he wrote letters to her, which have fortunately been preserved, and which provide a vivid picture of the campaign in all its details. Sobieski's queen had originally been a maid of honour to Marie Louise; her influence over him was enormous, and much of the correspondence is occupied with attempts to soothe her jealousy. Sobieski was able to cross the Danube at the town of Tulin by a bridge which the vizier had carelessly allowed him to construct, and there joined the army of Charles of Lorraine. With 70,000 men Sobieski began the battle on 12 September. The Turks were unable to stand against the admirable Polish cavalry, and Sobieski himself swept everything before him. Prince Eugène, afterwards famous, was serving under him in the army. The allied loss appears to have been very small; the Turkish loss has been estimated in very divergent figures; in any case the victory was complete. The Turks fled in all directions, leaving enormous booty behind them. Sobieski's letter to his wife gives a better picture of the rout than can anywhere else be found.

In the Vizier's tent,
September 13, at night.

Beloved and charming Mariette, the one delight of my soul, God be for ever praised; He has given a victory to our nation, a victory the like of which past ages have never seen. All the artillery and the whole of the Mussulman camp and infinite wealth are in our hands. The approaches to the town and the surrounding fields are covered with Turkish corpses and the survivors have fled in consternation. The victory has been so sudden and so extraordinary that both the city and our camp have been continually alarmed by rumours of the enemy's return. The Turks have left powder and munitions of war to the value of one million florins.

I have just been watching a sight which I had long desired to see. Our baggage companies have been exploding gunpowder in several places with an uproar like the Judgment Day though no one has been hurt. I have had the chance of seeing how clouds are formed in the atmosphere, but it is a misfortune and is certainly a loss worth half a million. The vizier abandoned everything in his flight; he has kept only his clothes and his horse. I have constituted myself his heir, for most of his wealth has fallen into my hands.

As I was advancing with the first line, driving him before me, I met one of his servants who took me to his tents and his private court. These tents alone occupy as large an area as the town of Warsaw or Lemberg. I seized all the decorations and flags which are usually carried before the vizier, but the great standard of Mahomet which his sovereign entrusted to him for this war, I have sent to the Holy Father by Talenti. Moreover we have rich tents, superb fittings and a thousand other very rich and beautiful toys. I have not seen everything yet, but there is no comparison with what we saw at Chocim. Four or five quivers mounted with rubies and sapphires are alone worth some thousands of ducats. So, my love, you will not say to me, as the Tartar women say to their husbands when they come back with their booty, "you are no warrior, as you have brought me nothing; for it is only the man who goes in front who can get anything".

Such was the pride and presumption of the Turks that while one part of the army offered us battle another began an assault on the town. But they had men enough for both purposes. Omitting the Tartars I estimate them at three hundred thousand combatants, and I have counted nearly one hundred thousand tents. For two nights and a day anybody has been taking what he likes, and even the townspeople have come out for their share of the booty. I am sure there will be enough to keep them occupied for a week. The Turks left many prisoners behind, natives of the country, especially women, but they massacred all they could. Many of the women have been killed, but some are only wounded and may recover. Yesterday I saw a child of three years old, a pretty little boy, whose head one of these cowards had cloven down to the mouth. The vizier had a very fine ostrich, but he had cut off its head so that it should not fall into the power of the Christians. I cannot possibly describe all the refined luxury collected in his tents; there were baths, little gardens with fountains, and even a parrot which the soldiers pursued but could not capture. To-day I went to see the town; it could not have held out another five days. The imperial palace is shattered with cannon balls, and the huge bastions rent and half tumbling. The pieces looked terrible; one would think they were great masses of rock. As soon as the vizier saw that he could no longer hold out he called his sons to him and began to weep like a child. He said to the Khan of Tartary, "Save me if you can!" The Khan replied, "We know the king of Poland. It is impossible to resist him; let us think how we can get away."

The heat has been so exhausting that we only keep alive by drinking. A large quantity of ammunition has just been discovered; I do not know whether they have any left or any means of making war. I have just heard that the enemy abandoned fifteen cannon in his flight. I am just about to mount my horse for the march upon Hungary. This letter is the best of despatches, and you can use it for that purpose if you will say that it is a letter from the king to the queen. The princes of Bavaria and Saxony have resolved to follow me to the end of the world. We shall have to go at full speed for the first two miles on account of the unbearable smell from the corpses of so many men, horses, and camels.

Sobieski had entered Vienna the morning after the rout of the Turks, and a thanksgiving service was held in the cathedral. As he passed through the town the ruins rang with the cheers of the people in honour of the hero who had brought them life, and, when the

church was reached, after the Te Deum a sermon was preached from the text: "There was a man sent by God whose name was John". Sobieski himself obtained a large and valuable portion of the spoils. In a letter to his wife he speaks of "a diamond belt, two diamond watches, four or five rich knives, five quivers inlaid with rubies and sapphires and pearls, rugs, hangings, furs, and a thousand other trifles, a massive gold box with three leaves of gold in it the thickness of parchment covered with cabalistic signs". On 23 December Sobieski was back again in Cracow.

Europe now resounded with his name and fame. Hitherto the Turks had been a name of horror throughout Europe, the proverbial bugbear with which nurses frightened children. It seemed that Mohammedanism was advancing upon Europe with fatal and inexorable steps. After Sobieski's victories men breathed freely once more, and spoke of his exploits as something almost miraculous. The churches resounded with his praise, and poets wrote odes of triumph to him. But there was one exception. French literature shows a remarkable silence upon the theme. Louis XIV and the wretched Leopold of Austria quarrelled with Sobieski upon matters of etiquette on the ground that he was only an elected king, while Louis would have made an alliance with the Turks or anyone else in order to weaken Austria. He attempted to attribute the glory of the deliverance to Pope Innocent XI, but Europe was not deceived. Sobieski had perhaps fought more brilliant campaigns in earlier years, but he had fought in a certain obscurity upon the confines of East and West. This final triumph had been gained beneath the eyes of civilized Europe and at the head of many contingents of her troops.

In the following year Sobieski made an offensive and defensive alliance with the emperor and the Venetian republic against the Turks. While the Venetians were attacking the Turkish power in Greece, the imperial troops were to operate upon the Danube and the Poles were to advance on the side of Wallachia. The treaty provided that the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia should be entirely at the disposal of Sobieski after their conquest. The Poles soon overran Moldavia, but it was a province without fortresses and therefore difficult to hold; moreover, the turbulent Polish nobles declined to support their king, and were unable to derive any profit from the sudden revival of their prestige. Their ancient social customs, prejudices, and institutions resisted the most well-meant attempts at reform. Sobieski's future years were disturbed by constant disputes in the Diets. On several occasions discussion was broken off by the use of the *liberum veto*. Family dissensions further embittered his life. The wife he so passionately loved was an avaricious, despotic and revengeful woman, inclined to set the sons against their father. The palace, like the state, was filled with her plots and intrigues. In family and state affairs she interfered alike, and never without causing discord and confusion. During the king's lifetime his own family, his own state, and Europe at large were openly quarrelling for his inheritance.

Worn out by these continual anxieties and broken by disease, he expired on 17 June, 1696, at Wilanow, a favourite pleasure resort of his near Warsaw, which had been built by the labours of Turkish captives. The last spark of vitality in the Polish nation seemed to be extinct. The gloomy reigns of the Saxon kings and the conquests of Charles XII followed, and if the military glory of Poland long remained unstained it never contributed to support a country permanently torn by internal factions.

Dr. Robert South, bishop of London and an eminent divine, visited Poland as chaplain to an embassy, and has left the following description of Sobieski:—

> The king is a very well spoken prince, very easy of access and extreme civil, having most of the qualities requisite to form a perfect gentleman. He is not only well versed in military affairs, but likewise through the means of a French education very apparently stored with all polite and scholastic learning. Besides his own tongue, the Slavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German and Turkish languages. He delights much in Natural History and in all parts of physic. As to what relates to his Majesty's person, he is a tall and corpulent prince, large faced with full eyes, and goes always in the same dress as his subjects. With his hair cut round about his ears like a monk he wears a fur cap, but extraordinary rich, with diamonds and jewels, large moustaches and no neck cloth. A long robe hangs down to his heels in the fashion of a coat with a waistcoat of the same length tied close about the waist with a girdle. He never wears any gloves and this long coat is of strong scarlet cloth, lined in the winter with rich fur but in summer only with silk. He carries always a large scimitar by his side, the sheath equally flat and broad from the handle to the bottom and curiously set with diamonds.

Sobieski was a scholar, a general, and a brave soldier. To say that his domestic statesmanship was a failure would be to demand of him almost the impossible. As a member of an ancient Polish family he failed to realize the inherently vicious nature of the institutions under which he strove to govern. He could not control the nobles, and therefore he could not introduce commercial reforms or encourage agriculture. Reform of the constitution was out of the question unless it was based upon the reform of society. Nor, again, was he endowed with diplomatic tact and the arts of winning popular favour which often lay the foundations of power and influence. He was generous to a fault, and, though supposed to have enriched himself enormously by the plunder gained in his Turkish wars, his treasury was a disappointment to his heirs. In spite of his passionate affection for his wife, his marriage was probably one of the greatest mistakes of his life; he often allowed his political views to be influenced by the prejudices of an avaricious and revengeful woman. But in the story of Turkish defeats his name will ever be pre-eminent, and had Poland been fortunate enough to find a real statesman to follow in his steps her history might have been one of strength and honour instead of decadence and gloom.

CHAPTER XII

Charles XII (A.D. 1682–1718)

Gustavus Adolphus bequeathed the crown of Sweden to his daughter Christina. As she was only six years of age a regency was appointed, at the head of which was Axel Oxenstierna, the chancellor and friend of Gustavus Adolphus, and the man to whose sagacity and vigour Sweden owed the fact that she emerged from the Thirty Years' War not only as a great power but as the acknowledged leader of Continental Protestantism. He it was who provided the money and the alliances necessary for the continuance of the German war, and who steered the country through the critical position in which it was left by the defeat of Nordlingen. By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden obtained Western Pomerania, the Island of Rügen, part of Eastern Pomerania, Wismar, and the bishopric of Bremen and Verden, together with a large sum of money and a vote in the German Reichstag. She thus had control of the three great rivers of Germany, the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and of the tolls levied thereon. Her army had gained a reputation for invincibility, and her prestige upon the Continent was very high. It was, however, prestige of a dangerous nature. Sweden's true object should have been to make the Baltic a Swedish lake and to consolidate her northern possessions round that sea. Moreover, Christina, who had assumed personal control of the government in 1644, was vastly extravagant, especially in her bestowal of honours and lands upon favourites who attracted her notice. Such dissatisfaction was aroused by her methods of government that a revolution was actually feared. Christina anticipated this possibility by resigning the crown to a distant relative, Charles Gustavus, in 1654, who reigned as Charles X.

His exploits were nearly as extraordinary as those of the subject of this chapter. He was a distinguished general, and had learnt his trade in the Thirty Years' War. He began his reign by an attempt to reorganize the deplorable confusion into which the finances of the country had fallen during Christina's reign, and initiated a scheme for increasing the revenue by confiscating the crown lands given away by Christina. He was, however, speedily drawn into a continuation of the policy of Gustavus Adolphus, and proposed to round off Sweden's Baltic possessions by adding to them the Polish territory which divided Pomerania from Livonia. In the field he was successful, but Denmark and Russia attacked him in his absence, at the instigation of Holland and Austria, while the king's only ally, Brandenburg, suddenly went

over to his enemies. He therefore relinquished Poland, and, advancing through North Germany, conquered the peninsula of Jutland. His next exploit was a feat unparalleled in history, when he led a force of 13,000 men across the frozen waters of the Belt, overwhelming the Danish forces which opposed his advance, and compelling the king of Denmark to surrender the Scanian provinces together with the Island of Bornholm and parts of Norway. This victory raised Sweden to the zenith of her power, and gave her control over almost the whole coastline of the Baltic.

Charles, however, desired to destroy Denmark's independence, and to detach her from Poland, so that he might be free from the danger of attacks upon his rear while he was dealing with other foes. His second invasion of the country was, however, by no means successful. He was induced to consider the possibility of peace with Denmark, Holland, and Poland, that he might have time to deal with Russia and Brandenburg, but in the midst of these difficulties death overtook him in 1660. The successor whom he left, Charles XI, was then only four years of age. It was possible that the enemies of Sweden might have overthrown her, had they realized the true position of affairs; but the victories of Charles X had given Sweden so great a prestige upon the Continent that they preferred to come to terms. The country was once more in the hands of a regency which did little to improve its financial or commercial prosperity, and considered the interests only of itself and of the nobles. The Swedish armies became French mercenaries under Louis XIV, who induced the regency to help him by the promise of large subsidies. They were persuaded to attack Brandenburg, but the elector met the Swedish division at Fehrbellin in 1675, and inflicted upon it a severe defeat. The actual loss to Sweden was trivial, but her credit was severely shaken, and she was simultaneously assailed by Denmark, Poland, Brandenburg, and the emperor. Her fleet was annihilated, and she lost nearly all her German possessions. At this point the young king, then twenty years of age, whose education had been disgracefully neglected by the regency, took the lead, and won a victory against the Danes, which at least secured him in possession of his frontiers, while the negotiations with Louis XIV ended the war in the north in 1679 upon conditions highly advantageous to Sweden in view of her prostrate position.

Charles XI spent the rest of his life in remodelling the social and political organization of the country. His first task was to reduce the power of the upper nobility; the other estates of the realm signed a new constitution by which Sweden practically became an absolute monarchy, and the resumption of the crown lands was effected upon a large scale, and with the utmost rigour. Property was more evenly divided and the public revenues increased greatly. The indignation which these measures roused among the nobles was counterbalanced by the increasing prosperity which the country enjoyed. No less remarkable was the moral improvement of Sweden under Charles XI. If he had had no education he had a very strong sense of duty; though

an absolute monarch, he spent all his days and half his nights in the service of his people, and the example of his hard-working and laborious life had a natural and beneficial effect upon the character of the nation. Continental powers once again began to covet the friendship of Sweden, but Charles was able to keep clear of all entanglements. Strongly as he seemed to have built, the unsubstantial nature of the foundations is clear from the extent to which the whole structure had been shaken by the defeat of Fehrbellin. The real defect of the Swedish empire was its impossible geographical situation; sooner or later it was bound to fall, and if Charles XII brought it to its doom, he brought it down amid red and resounding ruin, after a series of exploits which read more like the adventures of a hero in some mediaeval romance than the deliberate policy of a diplomatist and a general.

Charles XII was born in 1682, his mother being Ulrica Leonora, the youngest surviving daughter of Frederick III of Denmark, whose piety and virtue endeared her to every one of her subjects. Charles, from an early age, showed considerable strength of character. The story is well known how, when a little boy, he offered a crust of bread to a ravenous dog under the table and was severely bitten. He then tried to shield the dog by wrapping his napkin round the wound, and the action was only discovered when he fainted from loss of blood. He was very carefully educated, and throughout his life was noted for a total disregard of luxury or even of comfort. His taste for fierce riding and hunting he doubtless derived from his father, who found in these pursuits his only relaxation. His mother died when he was eleven years old, and he became his father's constant companion. In 1697, however, the death of Charles XI threw him upon his own resources. Provision had been made for a regency, and for the seven months that the regents were in power the policy of the late king was continued, while the youthful Charles XII showed the greatest interest in the work of government.

Unfortunately for Sweden, the nobility and gentry who had been crushed beneath the iron will of Charles XI considered that the time had arrived to reassert their position, and that the best method of doing so was to put the young king prematurely in possession of his power. At the meeting of the estates the nobles proposed this plan, which was received with acclamation; nobody was willing to object or to utter the apprehensions which many may have felt, and the consequence was that at the age of fifteen Charles was declared king of the country. Great was the disappointment of those who had hoped by this act to secure their own aggrandizement. Charles showed extraordinary precociousness and an unusual power of judging men and dealing with affairs; the nobility discovered that they were even worse off under their new master than under Charles XI. State officials who attempted to take too much upon themselves were sternly rebuked, and the government became even more autocratic in outward form than before. At the same time the young king worked upon principle and not by mere caprice, and he showed no less application for business than his

father; but he displayed a secretiveness and taciturnity which entirely baffled all would-be counsellors, and this remained a characteristic throughout his life. Such outbreaks as his extravagance during the two visits of his kinsman, Frederick IV, duke of Holstein, may be simply explained as a fit of boyish high spirits breaking through the unnatural restraint imposed upon him by his position. The spectacle of the king and the duke riding into town on the same horse, the duke clad only in a shirt, and breaking all the windows as they passed with their swords, was, doubtless, as little edifying as the amusement of decapitating sheep in the royal apartments, and pitching the bleeding heads out of the window. These, however, were outbreaks soon concluded and never repeated. The most objectionable feature of them was the amount of money that they cost. Charles XI had found his country in so impoverished a state that he had been able to save very little, and Charles XII squandered most of his father's hoard, an extravagance which the country could not afford and which any other monarch but himself would afterwards have bitterly repented. One further point is characteristic of the king; throughout his life he carefully avoided the society of women and obstinately refused to marry; his affection for the opposite sex was concentrated upon his sister.

Meanwhile, clouds were gathering upon the political horizon. In the south was looming the question of the Spanish Succession, while in the north Sweden was immediately confronted with the standing dispute between the Danes and the house of Holstein. As we have seen already, the duke of Holstein had entirely won the affections of Charles; indeed he married Charles's sister, and was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief of the Swedish troops in Germany. Denmark found new allies in the king of Poland, Augustus II, and the Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great. Augustus was, at the same time, elector of Saxony, and while pretending friendship with Sweden, in private and public he listened to the councils of the Livonian, Patkul, to whom may ultimately be ascribed the whole series of convulsions which followed. This adventurer was born at Stockholm in 1660, entered the Swedish army at an early age, and was one of those who protested to Charles against the severity with which the crown resumed the possession of the lands. His offensive language brought him to trial upon the charge of high treason. He fled to Switzerland to save himself, and after vainly petitioning Charles for a pardon he made the undoing of his country the chief object of his life. Whether his bodily or intellectual strength was the greater it would be hard to say; his linguistic powers were also remarkable. But these brilliant qualities were entirely ruined by his overbearing pride and his domineering haughtiness. He was neither a martyr in the cause of liberty nor an exile striving to return by force of arms; by his own deliberate choice he lived the life and died the death of a traitor. And in striving to combine an alliance with the partition of Sweden as its object he found a good listener in Peter the Great. Barbarian as Peter may have been, he was a man of great and progressive ideas, and he clearly

saw that little could be done for Russia until she had obtained a seaboard of her own. Her northern coasts and the port of Archangel were too constantly blocked by ice to be of any use for commercial purposes. The great obstacle to the attainment of this idea was Sweden. The ambitious Frederick IV of Denmark was induced to join the alliance of Saxony and Russia. The progress of these negotiations entirely escaped the notice of the Swedish ministers. In 1700 the Saxon troops invaded Livonia in the month of February, and a fortnight later the Danes occupied Holstein. Two months later Charles left his capital, to which he was destined never to return, and the Great Northern War began.

Augustus and the Saxons, upon Patkul's advice, attempted to surprise Riga. The Swedish commander, the brilliant strategist, Dahlberg, who years before had suggested to Charles X the feat of crossing the Belt upon the ice, was able to hold the town, though not to prevent the Saxons from maintaining a close investment. In Holstein the Danes had overrun the whole country and were besieging the last fortress when Charles interfered. To his councillors it seemed no time for beginning a war. For three years the country had suffered under a terrible famine, and the treasury was empty; a little ready money was raised only by the most extraordinary expedients. Charles first succeeded, thanks to a brilliant enterprise on the part of his admiral, in effecting a landing in Zeeland, and was preparing to fall upon Copenhagen when he received news that peace had been declared between the Danes and Holstein. Charles then began his preparations for an expedition to Livonia. Augustus of Saxony, alarmed at the unexpected collapse of Denmark, was no less ready to make peace. Charles was pursued with a constant succession of proposals and by a troop of anxious diplomatists. With these he dealt by referring them to the Swedish chancellor at Stockholm, some hundreds of miles away, and by the equally simple, but irritating, expedient of never answering any dispatches which he received from his chancellor. At this moment the main characteristic in his character became painfully apparent. His obstinacy and his love of honour made him resolve to pursue Augustus of Saxony if necessary unto the uttermost ends of the earth. His indignation at the treachery of this monarch could only be sated by his complete humiliation or his death. Secondly, there was his love of adventure and of fighting; Charles was never happier than in the thick of a scrimmage, and his adventurous disposition kept his friends and councillors in a state of constant perturbation. Lastly, there was his habitual taciturnity. He kept his own counsel, and though he would listen to what other people had to say, he declined to offer any observations of his own or provide the smallest information concerning his plans.

Charles reached Pernau on 6 October. His original intention was to relieve Riga, but he found that the fortress of Narva, the key of Esthonia, was in imminent danger of capture by the Russians, and

therefore turned northwards, collected his forces, and started for Narva on 13 November. The town was invested by nearly 50,000 Russians, who lay behind strong entrenchments, and Charles was divided from Narva by broken and boggy ground, while in the course of the seven days' march which would bring him to the town it was necessary to traverse three different passes. He proposed to set out upon this enterprise with some 10,000 men. No great military experience was required to realize the hazardous nature of this undertaking, but to no advice or remonstrance would he listen for a moment. He found that the Russians had devastated the country; the army struggled through the snow and mud, and when they reached the town their provisions were completely exhausted. The smallest determination on the part of the besiegers would have turned Charles's expedition into hopeless ruin. He had, however, given the Tsar a preliminary taste of the quality of his troops by forcing the only pass which Peter the Great had taken the trouble to defend, and this feat had inspired the Russians with the liveliest apprehensions of the Swedish valour. Peter transferred the supreme command to one of his nobles and fled precipitately. When the Swedish army emerged upon the plain before Narva, the commanding officer imagined that it was but the vanguard of a more imposing force. Charles prepared for the assault without delay, but at the moment of advance the whole landscape was obliterated by a violent snowstorm which drove upon the backs of the Swedes but in the faces of their opponents. The king immediately seized the opportunity, and the Russians found the Swedes in their trenches before they were aware of their approach. Both the Swedish wings were victorious, and Charles, who was prominent in the thickest of the fight, seized an elevated position upon which the Russians had planted the greater part of their artillery. The next morning the remnant of the Russian troops capitulated and were allowed to depart by the starving and exhausted conquerors, who found their prisoners almost more numerous than themselves. The enemy's well-provisioned camp, the whole of his artillery, and all the personal property of his troops fell into the hands of the Swedes. The whole of Europe was astounded at this unexpected termination to an adventure which seemed to have been undertaken in a spirit of utter recklessness. The army then went into winter quarters, and Charles remained upon the spot, preparing to resume hostilities in the following spring.

Then an event occurred which, if turned to proper account, seemed likely to give Sweden a deciding voice in the dissensions of the European powers. Charles II of Spain died in November, 1700, and left the whole of his possessions to Philip of Anjou, the second grandson of Louis XIV. Louis immediately declared his intention of supporting his grandson in violation of the Partition Treaty which he had made with the maritime powers. Both of these parties were anxious to secure the help of Sweden, and the chancellor represented to Charles the advantage that he might derive from a neutral attitude during the War of the Spanish Succession, seeing that his adherence would

ensure victory to whichever of the two parties he chose to join. Charles, as usual, returned no answer to the dispatches or to the arguments; but in the light of a few observations which he let fall, and of subsequent events, it is quite obvious that his mind was bent upon punishing Augustus of Saxony, and that he could not listen to any other plans or projects until he had accomplished this purpose.

Meanwhile the Tsar had recovered from his shock and was busily preparing for a further campaign. Augustus of Saxony had followed his example at the instigation of Patkul. But the elector had many difficulties to contend with. The finances of the Saxon electorate were deeply involved, and his grip on Poland grew steadily weaker. Many advised him to make peace with Sweden on any terms, but Charles absolutely refused to negotiate with one who had played him false. Augustus therefore sent out his generals to command the Saxon army in Livonia. They were not to cross the River Dwina, which then divided Swedish Livonia and Poland, until the Russian reinforcements had arrived. But they were at all costs to prevent the Swedish army from crossing this frontier line. Charles received large reinforcements from Sweden in the spring of 1701, and by 7 July he had an army of 15,000 men under the walls of Riga. He then proceeded to force the passage of the river. Mindful of the good service which the snowstorm had done him before Narva, he sent over a number of boats in which fires of damp straw were lighted. Volumes of smoke were blown into the faces of the Saxons, and the Swedes were halfway across the river before the enemy could bring their artillery to bear. They were also embarked upon large, flat-bottomed boats protected by screens of hides, and thus suffered very little loss in the passage. Charles himself, to the surprise and horror of his generals, was among the first boatload that reached the shore, but succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay until the whole of his forces had disembarked. After a desperate conflict he put the enemy to flight. The Saxon troops fled with such rapidity that they left the whole of Courland exposed, and Charles, by capturing Mittau, the capital town, secured large supplies of stores and ammunition. The whole province was cleared of Saxons and Russians, and Charles then went into winter quarters preparatory to his invasion of Poland in the following year.

Poland was at this time a republic and one of the chief states in Europe, extending from the Baltic on the north to Moldavia in the south. It consisted of two states—the kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Each acknowledged a common king, but possessed their own armies and managed their own affairs. The small provinces of which Poland and Lithuania were composed were also independently governed. The government of the country, in short, was conducted upon a system of total decentralization, and any province could refuse to sanction a decree of the National Diet. Legislation was thus usually brought to a standstill, and burning questions could only be decided by civil war. The fact that so

CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN

From a contemporary portrait (1701)

PETER THE GREAT

From the painting by Nattier at Versailles

incoherent a congeries of independent states had lasted so long was largely due to the weakness or apathy of Poland's neighbours. As might be expected under such a constitution, Augustus was confronted with a continual succession of difficulties. The important native families and magnates were constantly intriguing against him, and many of them were more inclined to welcome Charles XII as an ally than to oppose him as a foe.

At the time of Charles's invasion the most important person in Poland was Cardinal Radziejowski, who was somewhat alarmed by the prospect of an invasion, and wrote to Charles reminding him that Poland was at peace with Sweden, and also offering his intervention to settle the disputes between Charles and Augustus. Charles simply replied that when Poland deposed Augustus he would be prepared to consider conditions of peace, and that if the Poles were unwilling to comply with this demand he would see to the deposition himself. The Polish magnates were naturally irritated by this arbitrary answer, and a reaction began in favour of Augustus. The cardinal, in a courteous reply, urged Charles to abandon his intention. William III of England wrote to the same effect, and was anxious to gain the support of Charles for his coalition against Louis XIV. Swedish statesmen also insisted that Russia and not Poland was the foe with whom Charles had to deal. If Russia once obtained a footing upon the Baltic she would probably never retreat. There is little doubt that these statesmen were entirely correct, and that Charles was abandoning the best interests of his country in order to pursue what was purely a private quarrel of his own. He declined absolutely to listen to any representations, and, advancing from his base of operations, established himself in the middle of Lithuania. In March, 1702, he set out for Warsaw. His army is described as consisting "of sixteen thousand wretched, half-naked ragamuffins, with broken-down horses and no artillery, but absolutely unmatched for endurance and military prowess". Charles reached Warsaw on 14 May, after issuing a proclamation stating that the elector of Saxony had forfeited his right to the Polish crown, and that he was in the country merely to assist the Poles in his deposition. The few authorities competent to negotiate had already fled from Warsaw, and, though the cardinal was in the neighbourhood, he was only brought before Charles by representations not far removed from threats. Charles then demanded that a national assembly should be summoned to depose Augustus and elect someone else. The cardinal replied that, by the terms of the constitution, a new king could not be elected until the old one was dead, that the Polish Diet could not be compelled to elect a new king, and that Charles's best policy would be to so reduce the power of Augustus as to make his position in Poland valueless. Charles, however, declared that he would have deposition and nothing else. A fortnight later he left Warsaw with his little army and set out for Cracow, whither Augustus had fled. By 7 July he was within striking distance, and his 10,000 men confronted some 25,000

of the enemy, who were posted upon a wooded height protected by a wide extent of marshy ground. Charles, by a clever manœuvre, succeeded in depriving the enemy of the advantages of his position. The long pikes with which he had prudently armed his infantry enabled them to withstand the charges of the Polish cavalry. On the left the enemy were successful in crossing the swamp, and attacked the Swedes in the rear and flank, but the Swedish infantry, with unexampled steadiness, were proof against their onslaught. The arrival of the Swedish cavalry decided the day, while the king was also able to turn the Saxon artillery upon their own centre. The result was the victory of Klissov, in which the forces of Augustus were totally routed. The immediate consequence was the fall of Cracow, and there Charles rested for the next two months.

The condition of Poland at this time was truly desperate. She was ravaged alike by Swedes and Saxons. The magnates declined to call a Diet to depose Augustus in spite of Charles's arguments, and he therefore swept the state with fire and sword in order to bring the Poles to their senses. During the winter of 1703 the English coalition against France attempted to put an end to the Polish war in the hope of securing Swedish support for their own purposes. The War of the Spanish Succession had led, as yet, to no definite result, and had it not been for Charles and his Great Northern War, England might have secured the support of a number of German principalities who were at present occupied with fears of Swedish invasion. Precisely for that reason France was anxious to see Charles continue his present policy. The Swedes themselves would have been very glad to join England, and their ministers displayed much diplomatic adroitness in holding out prospects of Swedish assistance as soon as the Polish war was over. The English minister at Stockholm, a certain Mr. Robinson, for whom Charles had a high regard, actually visited the king in his camp in the depth of winter, and, though Charles had nearly as much aversion for diplomatists as for women, the ambassador succeeded in securing a long interview with the monarch. Nothing came of it, and in the spring of 1704 Charles continued his campaign.

At the battle of Pultusk he defeated the Saxons, and then spent eight months besieging the fortress of Thorn. During this time the Tsar was steadily improving his position on the Baltic, and had actually begun the foundation of St. Petersburg. Deaf to all remonstrance, Charles pursued the siege, and eventually the town surrendered on 4 October. Meanwhile Augustus had quarrelled with the cardinal, and Poland seemed inclined to side against the Saxon elector, when the Tsar suddenly offered him a new treaty of alliance, with an annual subsidy and a contingent of men for the continuance of the war with Charles. Peter the Great was particularly anxious that Charles should be detained as long as possible in Poland, in order that he might have time to finish the work of consolidating his Baltic conquests.

Of the very few subjects upon which two Polish states could be induced to think alike, hatred of Russia was one, and this alliance

entirely turned the national pride against Augustus. Charles's minister, Horn, was at length able to inform his master that the federal states were ready to depose the Saxon elector. It was, however, necessary to find someone to succeed him. Augustus himself kidnapped the two most likely candidates, and kept them in confinement. No foreign candidate could be found upon whom Charles and the cardinal could agree, and eventually Charles selected, as the new ruler of Poland, a native of the country, Stanislaus Leszczynski, who was connected with many of the leading families of Poland, and was fully conscious of his own impossibility as a candidate for the throne. Both the cardinal and Horn pointed out to Charles that the reign of Stanislaus would not last six weeks after the country had been evacuated by the Swedes. Charles, however, was determined to have him elected, though at one moment he was obliged to place sentries over him to see that he did not run away. At length the General Assembly of Polish representatives was convened outside Warsaw, and Stanislaus was unanimously elected king. The elective assembly itself was very sparsely attended, and the high officers of state refused to come. The bishop preached an inaugural sermon to empty pews in the Cathedral church, and it was obvious to all and sundry that the only reason for the election of this puppet was the wish of Charles and the presence of his troops. Stanislaus had no ministers, no army, no money, and very few friends; no foreign power had recognized him or was likely to do so, and unless Charles perpetually maintained a Swedish army corps upon a war footing in Poland the reign of Stanislaus seemed likely to be short and precarious.

Though it was thus upon every ground advisable that Charles should remain at Warsaw, he went on a wholly purposeless expedition to capture Lemberg, which fell in August, 1704. During his absence Augustus recaptured Warsaw, and was able to sack the town and the neighbourhood before Charles could overtake him. At the Punitz he came up with the enemy in October and scattered them in every direction. He then pitched his camp upon the Saxon frontier, cutting off Augustus from Poland and menacing the elector's own provinces; during the next eight months, which were occupied with business and his domestic affairs, he received overtures from the ambassadors of nearly every power in Europe. These he invariably declined; apparently he considered himself and his army invincible and beyond the need of allies. Prussia, for instance, offered him 20,000 men in return for the cession of Polish Prussia and Courland, if it should be conquered. Charles's ministers thought this an excellent bargain, as indeed it was; in view of the political situation such an alliance would have been most advantageous to Charles. He, however, thought that Prussia's demands were outrageously high, and the matter fell through. The next business was the coronation of Stanislaus, as Polish kings reckoned their reign only from the date of their coronation. With much difficulty Charles procured a bishop to perform the ceremony, provided his unfortunate puppet and his consort with

crowns, and secured the performance of the coronation with great pomp. A treaty then concluded between himself and the Polish republic provided that Charles should not withdraw his forces from Poland until Stanislaus was firmly established upon the throne. This was a great disappointment to his ministers, who hoped that he might now be induced to turn his attention to Russia, whose advance upon the Baltic had become the most dangerous feature in the situation.

When this business was concluded he prepared for war in the late autumn of 1705, and led his forces, amid extraordinary hardships, through the forests and swamps of Lithuania to the fortress of Grodno, which was garrisoned by a Russian army corps. During his absence Augustus thought that it might be easy to crush the little army that had been left in occupation of Poland, but he was completely defeated. Meanwhile Charles was in pursuit of the Russians who had escaped from Grodno, and was pursuing his enemy over country into which no other general would ever have ventured. Constantly up to his armpits in water as he led the way for his exhausted soldiers, he at length reached the town of Pinsk, and even his restless spirit recognized the impossibility of further progress through the watery wastes of Podlesia. He therefore returned westwards, and in August, 1706, he entered Saxony with the obvious intention of attacking Augustus in his own stronghold.

His sudden appearance, at this particular time, in Europe excited the utmost surprise and alarm in the heart of every statesman. His adherence to either one of the parties contending in the War of the Spanish Succession might easily have turned the balance of that great struggle, and nobody could conceive why he was in Saxony or what he wanted there. The explanation that the whole of his previous policy had been dictated by personal hatred of Augustus was far too simple an explanation for the intriguing politicians of that age to swallow. Charles made his way to Alt-Ranstadt, near Leipzig, where he had an interview with the English general, Marlborough. Many compliments passed between the two masters in the art of war, but Marlborough obtained no more information from the taciturn Charles than any other diplomatist had ever secured. He was, however, pretty well convinced that when Charles had accomplished his designs in Saxony, Russia would be the next object of his attacks, and that, if he were left alone, western Europe had little to fear from his presence or his absence. Charles then proceeded to humiliate his enemy by forcing him to sign the Treaty of Altranstädt. Augustus undertook to resign the Polish crown and to withdraw his support from the enemies of Sweden; to hand over all deserters, especially Patkul, who was executed when the Swedes left Saxony; to surrender all Russian troops in Saxony and to restore the crown jewels of Poland. Then, when the Swedish statesmen began to hope that Charles had at last satisfied his desires for vengeance upon Augustus, when there seemed some prospect of inducing him to consider the interests of his own country, he suddenly evinced a desire to go to war with Austria.

Austria had consistently supported Augustus and his Russian allies, but, what was more important to Charles, the emperor had persecuted the Protestants of Silesia in contravention of the Treaty of Westphalia. Charles regarded himself as bound in honour to continue the work of his great predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, and he refused to leave Europe until the emperor had made every required concession in favour of the Silesian Protestants. This was, perhaps, the most prosperous moment in Charles's life. He had enforced his demands upon Saxony and Austria, and was assured that every one of the great powers of Europe would willingly welcome him as an ally, while the only enemy still before him was the Tsar of Russia. Charles had never forgotten how that monarch had fled ignominiously from the battlefield of Narva, and completely underrated the resources of the Russian empire and the energy of Peter the Great. In August, 1707, he evacuated Saxony. He had an army of some 44,000 men, admirably disciplined and splendidly equipped at the expense of his Saxon hosts. The peasantry much regretted his departure, for the tributes which he required for the maintenance of his army had been levied exclusively upon the rich and noble. Charles told the imperial ambassador that his next task was to depose Peter the Great as he had deposed Augustus of Saxony, and he turned his steps in the direction of Russia. By New Year's Day he had crossed the Vistula, and by the end of January was as far as Wilna, advancing with extraordinary rapidity but unable to come up with the Russian army.

Charles now entered upon a course of action which proved his ruin. During the last seven years, while he had been prosecuting his personal revenge in Poland and Saxony, the Russians had been steadily advancing upon the Baltic at the expense of Sweden. The Baltic provinces had been denuded of troops, and Peter had actually retaken Narva, the scene of his first defeat. Riga would also have fallen had it not been for the exertions of Charles's brilliant general, Levenhaupt, who defeated overwhelming bodies of Russians with insignificant forces of Swedes. During 1706 and 1707 the Baltic provinces enjoyed a respite from warfare, as the Tsar had retired to his own dominions in hot haste upon hearing rumours that Charles was advancing against him. Obviously Charles's policy should have been to recover possession of his Baltic provinces and destroy St. Petersburg. Probably even then he would not have been able to prevent the ultimate descent of Sweden into the ranks of the second-rate powers of Europe. Sweden's possessions were widely scattered and formed no integral whole, and Charles had never been able to appreciate the weak basis upon which his empire was founded, or the real strength of the opponent with whom he had to deal. It seemed to him a magnificent idea to crush the Tsar by attacking his very capital, and, like Napoleon in after-years, he set out upon an expedition to Moscow. Peter proceeded to garrison the whole line of the Dnieper, and though Charles crossed the Beresina without loss he was obliged to fight a desperate battle at the River Wabis, and only to the brilliant exertions of his cavalry did he owe the victory. But

though the Russians were unable to withstand Charles in open fight, they had other means of attacking him. The country before the advance of the Swedes was thoroughly ravaged, the army was constantly harassed by Tartar norsemen, provisions were absolutely unobtainable, and it became clear that the king would never reach Moscow. For once in his life Charles consulted his subordinate officers. They proposed that he should fall back upon the Dnieper and await the arrival of Levenhaupt, who was advancing from Riga with reinforcements and supplies, and was probably not far from them at that moment. The only alternative was to march southward to the land of the Cossacks, where friends and provisions might be found, but where the Swedes would certainly be cut off from communication, and would probably never see or hear anything of Levenhaupt and his commissariat train. Charles declined to retreat; he felt that retreat would be a stain on his reputation; he therefore started upon the march to the land of the Ukraine Cossacks.

The Cossack hetman, or commander-in-chief, had already made overtures of friendship to him. The dissatisfaction aroused by the reforms of Peter the Great had spread to this part of the country, and the famous Mazeppa, whom Byron's poem has immortalized, had promised Charles to revolt from the Tsar with 30,000 horsemen if the Swedish monarch would make him independent in the Ukraine. Charles had rejected so many alliances that it was unlikely that he would be influenced by overtures from a discontented Cossack, but, in his present difficulties, there is no doubt that the Cossack influenced his choice of route; otherwise even he would hardly have abandoned Levenhaupt and the valuable reinforcements and provisions which that general was laboriously attempting to convoy over the 400 miles that separated Charles from the town of Riga. Levenhaupt was utterly defeated by Peter at the River Desna; he was forced to sink his cannon and destroy his stores, after which he had the utmost difficulty in securing his own retreat. Charles then marched through Severia, the plain between the Rivers Desna and Sosz. When Mazeppa arrived, the fact was revealed that he was unable to keep his promises. The Tsar had discovered his doubledealing, and the Cossack had been obliged to flee with a few soldiers to save his own life. His usefulness was confined to his powers as a guide, though it must be said that his knowledge of the country was of considerable service to Charles.

In the Ukraine, Charles found some supplies for his troops, but he was constantly surrounded by swarms of Cossacks who were anxious to win the rewards offered by the Tsar for every Swede brought to him dead or alive. The winter of 1708–9 was memorable for a strict and fearful frost, which froze even the canals of Venice and the mouth of the Tagus. Upon the wind-swept plains of Russia the intensity of the cold was appalling. Birds dropped dead from the trees, and even the seasoned northern warriors of Charles's army were not proof against this dreadful enemy. Numbers were frozen to death, and more suffered from frostbite. The king shared their hardships, and as long as he

was there his men endured them without a murmur. But their effect was alarming in the extreme; by the following spring the Swedish army was reduced to some 20,000 men, supplies were extremely short, and all communication with Europe had been cut off. Yet Charles declined to retreat, and resolved to march upon Pultawa, to besiege the fortress while waiting for the reinforcements that he had ordered from Poland and Saxony and requested from Turkey. The siege was a failure; Charles rarely had the patience for such operations, and his army was too weak to perform them. Moreover, on the other side of the river on which the fortress lay was Peter the Great, with an army which outnumbered Charles's by four to one, able to re-provision the town almost as he pleased; and the culminating catastrophe occurred when Charles, exposing himself with his usual recklessness, was severely wounded in the foot. In spite of the heroism which he displayed in treating the wound with such appliances as medical science then possessed, he was totally unable to take the saddle or to supervise operations. No sooner had Peter heard that Charles was thus incapacitated than he immediately began an aggressive policy. He crossed the river, moved closer to the fortress, and entrenched himself in a position from which he might attack the Swedes as he chose. Obviously, if the Swedes were not to be starved out, they must stake their all upon a battle, and Charles, after arranging the disposition of his troops, had himself carried in a litter to the field of his final disaster. The initial attacks were successful, but a tactical blunder enabled the Russians to surround the Swedish right wing, and Peter was eventually enabled to throw 40,000 men upon the 4000 Swedish infantry, who were exhausted by hunger and fatigue, with little powder and no artillery. With desperate courage they charged the Russians, but were literally engulfed in the vast masses of men. Charles had gone into fire as he lay on his litter, but his bearers were shot down and the litter itself was shattered by a cannon ball. A devoted officer sacrificed his life in the act of placing Charles upon a horse, and with a bleeding foot the king was able to lead the scattered remnant of the Swedish army into camp. He had lost 3000 dead and wounded and 2000 prisoners. Exhausted by pain and fatigue, he was at length persuaded to cross the Dnieper with 15,000 cavalry, and to take refuge in Turkish territory. Two days afterwards Levenhaupt was forced to surrender with 14,000 men, the only remnant of the magnificent army that had started from Saxony. "St. Petersburg is now firmly and immovably founded," Peter is said to have exclaimed when this final triumph was reported. He might have added that Sweden's period of existence as a first-class power was then closed.

After some further difficulties had been surmounted Charles reached Bender, on the Dniester, an important Turkish fortress, where he was received by the Turks with the greatest honour and respect. They deemed themselves indeed fortunate in having upon Turkish soil the most formidable enemy of their deadly foe, Russia. As winter approached, special houses were built for them, and Charles erected

for himself a strong residence of stone, sufficiently massive to serve as a fortress in time of need, and such a time of need afterwards occurred. He was to the Turks an object of great interest, and thousands came to see the hero whose exploits had lost nothing in the course of transmission by popular report. When they further observed that Charles was entirely unattracted by wine or women, that he scorned all luxury or splendour, and that he was as regular in his religious observances as they were themselves, they began to regard him with feelings akin to veneration. His wound gradually healed, and in September, 1709, he was able to ride again. He had also begun to recover from the grief into which he had been plunged by the death of his favourite sister, the duchess of Holstein. In the course of 1710 it seemed that a prospect of recovering his fortunes lay open to him.

Russia and Turkey had been at peace since July, 1700; a truce had then been concluded, under which the Porte had been obliged to surrender Azov to Russia. But the Turks were eager for a war of revenge, and Peter, throughout the Great Northern War, had been constantly apprehensive that Charles might stir up this formidable enemy against him. Any other leader than Charles would have used such an opportunity long before, but, as we have seen, Charles had a great contempt for alliances, and preferred to trust in his own good sword. His presence in Turkey naturally suggested to the Porte the possibility of using him; and after a series of palace intrigues, and the overthrow of certain corrupt viziers, the Porte issued an ultimatum to Russia demanding the surrender of Azov, the evacuation of Poland, and the return of all provinces captured from Sweden. At the beginning of 1711 hostilities began, and a Russian army of some 60,000 men advanced to the Pruth, accompanied by Peter himself. Against them the Grand Vizier proceeded with an enormous Turkish force and a plan of campaign drawn up by Charles himself. The Turkish commander had no difficulty in cutting off Peter from his line of retreat, and the Russian monarch, seized with one of his fits of panic, would gladly have run away had there been any direction in which to run. Flight being impossible, and surrender ignominious, he tried bribery, and with cartloads of money he sent the Turkish vizier proposals for peace, agreeing to all the demands of the ultimatum, and promising Charles a safe return to his own country. The Peace of the Pruth was concluded on 11 July, 1711, to the profound disgust of Charles XII, who arrived upon the spot a few hours after the vizier had committed himself. Charles reported his conduct to the Porte and secured his banishment, though this was a feeble consolation for the loss of an opportunity which, if turned to proper account, would have ended in the destruction of the Russian army and the probable capture of Peter himself.

The sultan now attempted to induce Charles to return to his own country, but Charles declined to go. He therefore ordered his officers to seize the king by force and to bring him, dead or alive, to Adrianople. Charles barricaded his little camp and prepared for a

struggle, which took place on 1 February, 1713, and certainly gave some colour to the doubt which was afterwards raised as to Charles's sanity. It was bad enough that he should outrage the hospitality of his hosts by inflicting his presence upon them after he had been plainly told that he was not wanted; it was sheer madness for him to attempt any prolonged resistance to the 10,000 Turks who were gathered round his camp. The fact seems to be that Charles was anxious to startle the civilized world by some exploit akin to those recorded in books of mediaeval chivalry; possibly, also, the prospect of a fight in which he would be forced to play the principal part was too attractive to be missed. The ensuing conflict must have satisfied even his warlike spirit. On Sunday, as he was hearing divine service in his house, an uproar suddenly attracted the attention of his companions, and the Turkish army was perceived to be charging his camp at full speed. Charles rushed out to collect his forces, who surrendered at the first summons, convinced that resistance was hopeless. He then cut his way through the Turks to the house, followed by his officers. The house was full of janissaries, busy looting. Charles mustered six officers and thirty-four soldiers, drew his sword, and charged into the nearest room. The grand saloon was crowded with some 200 marauders, and a terrific struggle took place. Eventually the house was completely cleared, with the loss of eight of the Swedes. Charles barricaded the windows, and repulsed an attempt to storm his mansion with heavy loss. The Turkish commanders, therefore, resolved to burn him out, and set the roof on fire with blazing arrows. Charles remained in the house until the floors began to fall in, and then made a sortie at the head of his men, but tripped as he rushed out of the house, and was instantly seized and disarmed. For eight hours he had defended the house against 12,000 Turks with twelve cannons; the besiegers had lost some 200 men, 10 of whom Charles had killed with his own hand. Most of the next year he spent near Adrianople, and most of the time he was in bed, probably feigning illness, lest he should be carried away by the Turks. In 1714, after months of argument with his ministers, he was at length persuaded to return to his own country. On 11 November, 1714, he reached Stralsund, after an absence of fifteen years.

He found his country in a most desperate state. After the battle of Pultawa, Augustus of Saxony had repudiated the Peace of Altranstädt, and Denmark also declared war. One of the great commanders whom Sweden fortunately possessed during these years, Magnus Stenbock, gathered an army together and marched upon the Danes when they invaded the Swedish province of Scania, and utterly defeated them after a severe fight at Helsingborg. Though this victory restored some of Sweden's lost prestige, it could not save her Baltic provinces, which now fell into the hands of the Tsar. The Swedish Senate, led by the famous minister Horn, realized that the struggle could hardly be prolonged, and that the country was exhausted. They urged Charles to make peace and come home, but Charles would hear

nothing of peace, and in the early months of 1711 he actually demanded that an army should be sent to Germany to co-operate with him. The loyal Senate made the most extraordinary efforts to collect money, and were able to send out a fleet with some 9000 men under the command of Stenbock. Stenbock won a victory over the Danish forces at Gadebusch, which was chiefly due to the extraordinary valour of the Swedish infantry. It was a triumph that improved Sweden's prospects for a time, and offers of alliance and mediation were made to her which might have enabled her to save the more important of her possessions; but Charles, with suicidal obstinacy, would hear of no surrender and no cession of territory, while Stenbock, with his little force, was eventually driven into a corner, and surrendered to the Russians, Danes, and Saxons in the spring of 1713. In the dire extremity to which Sweden was reduced the estates of the realm began to think that Charles would soon have no kingdom to govern, and that they might do worse than take matters into their own hands. A civil war was only averted by the diplomacy of Horn, but the debates upon the question at length brought the urgency of the matter home to Charles, and induced him to return to his own country.

He was received with the wildest enthusiasm, which soon became despondency when it was discovered that the king had no intention of making peace. His position seemed hopeless; his former allies had turned against him, and he was at war with Russia, Prussia, Poland, Saxony, Hanover, and Denmark. Though England was nominally at peace, she none the less countenanced the designs of his enemies. The first object of their attack was Stralsund, which Charles defended with extraordinary skill and fortitude, until the fortress was reduced to a heap of rubbish, when he was obliged to abandon Pomerania and allow the defenders to capitulate at the close of 1715. The last stages of his career were occupied with attacks upon Norway and the activities of his confidential adviser, Baron Görtz. The baron had risen to confidence in the service of the duke of Holstein, and personal admiration of Charles induced him to offer his services at the moment when Sweden seemed to be at the last gasp. Charles gave him absolute control of finance and diplomacy, and the further task of making what terms he could with Sweden's enemies. He was hated by Charles's ministers, who thus found themselves set aside, and was most unpopular with the nation; but he was one of the most brilliant diplomatists that Europe has ever seen, and it was rather dread than hatred of his abilities that ultimately caused his downfall. Intrigue was his amusement, and he was never happier than when engaged in mystifying the politicians of different countries while working adroit schemes for the advantage of Sweden. The only asset which he could use for the purpose of bargaining was Sweden's high military prestige and the universal dread of her military powers. He also saw that England and Russia, Sweden's most dangerous enemies, were divided by the personal hatred of their rulers, and proceeded to work upon their jealousy and to obtain better terms for Sweden by making them bid one against

BEARING HOME THE BODY OF CHARLES XII TO SWEDEN

From the painting by Baron Gustav von Cederström in the National Museum, Stockholm

another. Other countries naturally were anxious not to be left out in the cold, and when Görtz opened negotiations with Russia upon a little island in the Gulf of Bothnia, in 1718, there really seemed a prospect that Sweden might emerge from her difficulties.

Once again the invincible obstinacy of Charles ruined everything. Görtz had actually extorted from the Tsar an undertaking to help Sweden against Hanover and Denmark in return for the cession of the Baltic provinces, which was more than Sweden had any right to expect in view of her situation at that moment. Charles, as usual, declined to cede anything, and the minister was obliged to break off the negotiations. Not only his diplomacy, but his financial resources, were on the point of collapse. He had issued metal tokens and a paper currency which had raised the national credit for a time. This issue had been strictly limited, and provision made for its ultimate redemption; but during his minister's absence Charles had ruined the whole scheme by issuing a far greater supply of tokens than the minister had ever contemplated. The financial position thus threatened immediate and hopeless collapse. Two-thirds of the best land in the country was lying fallow for want of labourers, the fishermen had been pressed for sailors, the fisheries were deserted, foreign trade had been ruined, and there was a great dearth of the common necessaries of life. By the end of 1718 the Government had raised money sufficient to last no more than a fortnight.

Charles now determined to make a second invasion of Norway; if he had no fleet, he could at least attack the Danes by land. After great hardships the siege of the frontier fortress of Fredricksten, near Fredrickshald, began. One night, while he was in the trenches within reach of the fortress, he began to suspect that the enemy were on the point of making a sortie, and therefore climbed to the top of the trench, exposing his head and shoulders, for the purpose of observing the position. At that moment he was struck in the head by a stray shot which caused instantaneous death. The consequence was the downfall of Görtz, who was arrested and imprisoned, and eventually executed.

Charles had reigned for twenty-one years, and his death was a real relief to his nation. If he had raised Sweden to an extraordinary degree of power, he had also exhausted the country in the course of these efforts. Visitors were surprised and horrified by the total absence of young men in the country districts; the population had steadily decreased, while trade and commerce had been ruined. It is probable that the Swedish empire would never have been able to withstand the crushing weight of Russia even if Charles had been a far-sighted diplomatist as well as a brilliant general and soldier; but he regarded war as a pastime, and went about the business of government rather in the spirit of a mediaeval knight errant than in that of a responsible ruler. His inordinate love of adventure, his passion for fighting, his contempt of his foes, and his wild optimism made it impossible for him to conduct a war upon any principles of national policy. With his soldiers he was popular in the extreme; he shared their hardships, and many stories are told of the

way in which he would stint himself to add to their comfort. But hardships were indeed to him almost a pleasure, and for anything in the nature of luxury or pomp he had the utmost contempt. In Turkey he used to search his officers' rooms and destroy anything in the way of finery that he found. The English envoy thus describes him when he was in Saxony:

He is a tall and well-built monarch, but somewhat slovenly. His manners are the roughest imaginable in so young a man. In order that the exterior of his quarters may not belie their interior, he has chosen the dirtiest place, and one of the gloomiest houses, in all Saxony. . . . The cleanest and neatest part of it is the courtyard in front of the house, where everyone must get off his horse and immediately sink up to his knees in mud. In this court are all his own horses, merely fastened with halters, with sacks over them instead of horse-cloths, and without either racks or mangers. They had staring coats, round bellies, heavy hind quarters, and badly kept tails, the hair all of different lengths. The groom who takes care of them is no better fed or dressed than his horses; one of these is always kept ready for the monarch, who will constantly jump on its back and rush off at full gallop before anyone can follow him. He will sometimes ride ten or twelve German miles, which equal forty-eight or fifty English, in a day, and this even in the winter, when he comes in muddy as any postilion. He wears a blue coat with yellow copper buttons, the corners of his jerkin are turned back in front and behind to show his waistcoat and his leather breeches, which are frequently very greasy. His cravat is made of a piece of black crape, but the collar of his overcoat buttons up so high that no one can see whether he wears a cravat or not. His shirt and wristbands are generally very dirty, and he never wears cuffs or gloves except on horseback. His hands are the same colour as his wristbands, so that you can hardly tell one from the other. His hair is very light brown, very short and greasy, and he never combs it except with his fingers. He sits down, without the smallest ceremony, on any chair that he finds in the dining-room . . . he eats very quickly, never spends more than a quarter of an hour at table and never says one word during the meal . . . he never drinks anything but small beer . . . he has no sheets or canopy to his bed, the mattress beneath him serves also to cover him, he rolls it round him . . . beside his bed there is a very handsome gilded Bible, the only thing about him that is in the least showy.

On the other hand he was intellectually gifted, equally as fond of hard work as his father, with a capacity for taking pains akin to genius. In a humbler sphere of life he might have made his mark as a mathematician; he had an extraordinary memory for figures and a considerable talent for languages. Though he cared nothing for female society his domestic affections were strong and enduring; he never forgot his sisters' birthdays, and invariably wrote letters of kindness when he heard that they were in any trouble. If his career seems inconsistent, and dictated by obstinacy or caprice rather than by statesmanship, it cannot, at least, be denied the title of heroic. Excellent as was the material of which he could dispose in the Swedish soldiers, few generals have ever turned good material to better account.

CHAPTER XIII

Peter the Great (A.D. 1672–1725)

The history of Russia from the fifteenth century to the close of Peter the Great's reign is the history of a struggle between progress and reaction; the final triumph of progress and the introduction of Western civilization to Russia remains the great achievement of this extraordinary man. The greatest calamity which befell the Russian state throughout this period was the domination of the Tartars. Russia lost her political independence for some three hundred years, and learned to disparage and to despise the amenities of civilized life and to stand aloof from the Western world. It was not until the reign of Ivan III, who eventually shook off the Tartar yoke, that Russia began to open any definite connection with Western Europe. Ivan sent ambassadors to Hungary, Germany, and Italy; he summoned artists and mechanics from foreign countries, and foreign ambassadors occasionally visited him. In 1555 we find that an Englishman, Sir Hugh Willoughby, fitted out an expedition for the discovery of a north-east passage to India, when one of his ships was driven into the mouth of the Dwina by a storm. Ivan the Terrible received the English merchants kindly and granted them special privileges, with the result that a brisk trade between England and Russia began, with headquarters at Moscow and a number of branches, which even rivalled the Hanseatic League in prosperity and extent. The English merchants attempted to monopolize the trade and commerce of Russia, but they were soon followed by the Dutch, and at a later date French and German imitators entered the field. The Russian nation as a whole, however, instead of learning what they could from the foreigners, preferred darkness and unenlightenment, and offered a vigorous resistance to the advance of Western civilization. The orthodox Church supported this policy of resistance, and regarded the wearing of Western European clothes, or the adoption of English or German habits, as treachery to the nation and to the Church.

However, innovation slowly proceeded; the early members of the Romanov dynasty admired European culture; postal communications with the west were established, and a court theatre was opened. Manufactories were started, and even agriculture was improved. On the other hand, Europe showed some tendency to take alarm at the progress of Russia. Sigismund Augustus of Poland, for instance, raised a protest against the number of immigrants who were instructing Russia in Western customs. German engineers in Moscow declined

to instruct Russian apprentices in the secrets of their profession, while the English threw obstacles in the way of Russian merchants in order to secure the trade monopoly for themselves.

Peter the Great was born on 30 May, 1672, the son of Alexis by his second wife. Unlike the other members of the royal family, he was not brought up in the narrow atmosphere of the court. His half-sister Sophia, who acted as regent after his father's death, was anxious to keep him from the throne. He spent his time in the country, whence he returned at times to take his seat on the twin throne with his half-brother Ivan, but for most of his time he was left to himself. Such tutors as he had were both idle and incompetent, and he was, to a large extent, a self-educated man. By character he was of a restless and energetic temperament, always desiring to know how things were done, and anxious to ascertain the working secrets of a mechanical toy or of a government. The story that he was master of fourteen different trades is purely apocryphal; he may have dabbled in many more. Dentistry and turning at one time attracted his attention, but, on the other hand, if he was master of no trade he had a working knowledge of many details which eventually proved of inestimable advantage to his country; of even greater advantage is the fact that his early education, desultory as it was, taught him to think for himself, and brought him to the seat of government with a more open and liberal mind than any of his predecessors had displayed. In 1689 he became absolute Tsar, after a plot laid by Sophia against his life had been overthrown. She was lodged in the convent of the Muscovite Sisters. Peter's half-brother and co-regent, Ivan V, was a mere figurehead, who took no share in the government and was simply named with Peter in official documents until his death in 1696. The early years, after the *coup d'état* of 1689, were a period of retrograde movement. The Jesuits were driven out, and Russia seemed anxious to relapse into its former obscurantism. Peter's attention was chiefly occupied by his amusements, which often assumed a would-be serious form; sham fights which he conducted were carried on with such vigour as to cause loss of life, and fireworks, in which he delighted, occasionally exploded to the damage of the public. Shipbuilding went on upon the lake near Moscow. In 1693 he visited Archangel and saw the sea for the first time. It is not unlikely that he was then seized with the resolve that Russia should become a naval power. He wished to import luxuries from western Europe, or toys for his own amusement, and at Archangel he met a ship, which he had purchased in Amsterdam, bringing not only the guns with which she was fitted for war, but also rich furniture and French wines. Peter wanted a larger supply of these commodities, and he saw that they could be more easily imported by the Baltic than by the White Sea.

Meanwhile the government was left in the hands of the Boyards, the native nobility, whose administration was retrograde in the extreme, while the Tartars were threatening the country once more. It was probably in 1695 that one of Peter's favourites, a Genevan adventurer

named Lefort, suggested to Peter the advisability of a tour abroad, where the Tsar had already sent some of his young comrades. But the prestige of Russia in other courts was far from great, and Peter felt that something of note must be done before he could figure in the eyes of Europe as a mighty ruler; hence he made his first attempt upon Azov. This town was the key to the mouth of the Don and the Black Sea. The result of the first attack was a failure, and Peter began to understand that war was a serious business. A second attempt was more successful, and Peter realized that he must put himself to school and learn the means which made Western government and Western civilization successful in the race for power. He had determined to build a fleet on a corner of the Sea of Azov, and resolved to study shipbuilding in the most notable centres of Europe. For this purpose he started on his first European journey in 1697.

This action was in itself a break with the past. In 1075 a Russian grand duke had visited the emperor Henry IV at Mayence, but from the days of Ivan the Terrible the mere proposal of a foreign tour had been equivalent to high treason. Peter himself started upon the excuse that his journey was to be an embassy to the powers of Europe, while he concealed his identity under the pseudonym of Peter Mihailof. His subjects probably regarded his movements as merely dictated by his restless desire for amusement, while on the Continent he made no impression at all. The Congress of Ryswick was upon the point of meeting, and had attracted the attention of the whole of the Western world. The prince passed through Riga and Libau to Königsberg, where he made the acquaintance of the elector of Brandenburg. Peter hoped for a defensive alliance against Sweden, but his proposals came to nothing. Even thus early he seems to have proved a somewhat embarrassing guest. He was anxious to see a criminal broken on the wheel, apparently with the object of introducing that instrument of torture into his own country, and was disappointed to learn that no subject for operation was available; he expressed his surprise that so much fuss should be made about killing a man. He then moved towards Poland, passing through Berlin, where he met the electress of Brandenburg. The philosopher Leibnitz was anxious to see him, and drew up a complicated scheme of reform for his consideration; but the only learned men with whom Peter desired to converse were those who could make fireworks or build ships. He therefore settled for a week at the village of Saardam, in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, sailing boats and conversing with the fishermen. His insatiable curiosity was as lively as ever. Between Amsterdam and the Hague he was continually stopping to measure the width of a bridge, or investigate the working of a mill, or to examine the dwellings of the inhabitants. He nearly lost his life in a silk factory by attempting to stop the driving wheel. He studied printing, anatomy, and natural history, and learnt drawing and copperplate engraving, built a ship, made himself a bath, and did his own cooking. Nor was all of this absolute waste of time. It was true that he

could always bring foreign specialists into his country to introduce these industries if they might seem desirable, but he was learning by practical experience how they fitted into the general scheme of civilization, and how far they might or might not be useful to his own people.

The Amsterdam shipbuilders did not entirely satisfy him, because they proceeded by traditional rule-of-thumb methods for which they could not account upon any general principle. Peter heard that in England he could study theory and practice at the same time, and he therefore crossed the Channel in 1698. He is said to have lived in No. 15 Buckingham Street, Strand, and received a courteous welcome from William III, whom he had met in Holland. He went round every public institution where he was likely to pick up any useful information—the Mint, the Observatory, and the Royal Society. Six weeks of his three months in England he spent at Deptford, working in the shipbuilding yards. He dressed himself as an ordinary workman, drank and smoked in the usual taverns, and carried his tools himself through the streets, rather from a childish love of masquerade than from any idea of concealing his identity. He was an embarrassing guest to those who undertook the task of his entertainment. When the king called upon him in London, and entered the room which Peter habitually used, and in which he slept, with three or four attendants, the atmosphere was so foul that His Majesty nearly fainted. If there is any doubt as to the locality of Peter's residence in London, he left his mark upon the residence which he occupied in Deptford. When the owner, John Evelyn, resumed possession of it, he must have thought that the devastating armies of Tartary had marched through it in one long procession. Doors had been dragged out of their frames and chopped up for firewood, picture frames had been used for the same purpose and their valuable contents spoiled, every window in the house was broken, and the whole place was extraordinarily filthy. Evelyn claimed and received indemnity for this damage from the Treasury.

At the end of April Peter returned to Holland and made his way to Vienna. He had hoped that he might there negotiate an alliance against the Turks; but Austria was bent upon peace with the Turks at any price, that her hands might be free to deal with France. The emperor provided various entertainments, but Peter found no scientific amusements to compensate for his diplomatic failure, and was recalled to his own country by a mutiny among the Streltsy, the chief regiment in Russia, which was maintained permanently upon a war footing. Shortly afterwards he was obliged to disband the regiment altogether, and he then began to form a regular standing army.

Hitherto Peter had been entirely absorbed by the effort to become a first-rate seaman, a good shipwright, and a competent artillerist. For the next twenty years he was to have every opportunity of putting these accomplishments into practice. It seems undoubted that he had been looking for some enemy upon whom he might exercise his

PETER THE GREAT AT DEPTFORD DOCKYARD. From the painting by Daniel Maclise, R.A., in the Royal Holloway College.

In this picture we see Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, pausing in his work in Deptford Dockyard to receive a visit from King William III, who is accompanied by Lords Carmarthen and Shrewsbury. The negro, dwarf, and pet monkey whom he kept beside him are gazing idly at the king, and all around there is a litter of odds and ends, giving an index of Peter's tastes.

The painter, Daniel Maclise, born in 1806, of a Highland family, became a Royal Academician in 1840, and died in 1870. He was a close friend of Charles Dickens, of whom he painted a well-known portrait. The present picture was exhibited at the Academy in 1857.

PETER THE GREAT AT DEPTFORD DOCKYARD

DANIEL MACLISE, R.A.

untrained army. In the course of his return to Russia through Vienna he had had a meeting with Augustus II of Poland, and had resolved to cast in his lot with the alliance against Sweden and France. Augustus was, no doubt, precisely the kind of character to attract Peter's attention. He found in him the strong and active man, devoted to every kind of physical exercise, utterly reckless of any moral consideration, and a boon companion. They could reckon upon the help of Denmark, and it was possible that Brandenburg would join them. The story of the Great Northern War is the story of Charles XII of Sweden. Peter cut a very inglorious figure at the outset. Before Narva he thrust the command upon the prince of Croy, advancing the wildest excuses for his departure between bumpers of brandy, and literally fled. The defeat and surrender of his great army before a much inferior force of weary Swedes made him the laughing-stock of Europe, and vastly to his credit is the fact that he did not lose heart, but resolved to learn from his enemies. Charles gave him time to gather his forces by plunging into Poland and Livonia, leaving Peter to himself. In 1704 Peter was able to retake the town which had seen his first ignominious defeat, and after the Treaty of Altranstädt he resolved that he would fight upon his own ground and at his own time. Charles then played almost deliberately into his hands by resolving upon his invasion of Russia. Then came the battle of Pultawa, in which the Tsar displayed real courage. His life is said to have been saved by a golden cross studded with precious stones, which was struck by a bullet as he wore it on his breast. After the battle Peter's first thought was the celebration of his victory, and in his excitement he forgot to order any pursuit of the retreating enemy. He invited the more important of his prisoners to his own table, and toasted his "masters in the art of war".

After this triumph his obvious advantage was to pursue what he had gained, and to strengthen his position in Livonia and on the Baltic, but he allowed himself to be drawn into doubtful intrigues and to pursue difficult or impossible projects. He succeeded in capturing Riga and in overrunning Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, when news arrived that Charles in the south of Europe was all-powerful with the Turks. The result was Peter's campaign to the Pruth, where he was outmanœuvred by the Turks, under Charles, and was obliged to buy his freedom with the loss of Azov. When Charles had ruined his Turkish prospects by his last wild escapade, Peter expected that the Swedish war would soon come to an end; his own country had felt the burden severely, and his finances were in a state of deplorable confusion. In 1713 he attacked Finland and captured the larger part of the country. The campaign in Germany, however, against Sweden turned to the advantage only of Prussia; the allies quarrelled among themselves, and in the following year the Tsar was obliged to continue the war alone. Then came the reappearance of Charles in Stralsund and the diplomacy of the Baron von Görtz. The complicated diplomatic intrigues of which this minister held the chief strings

were cut short by the death of Charles XII. Under the subsequent Peace of Nystadt, concluded on 10 September, 1721, Russia acquired possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, parts of Finland and Carelia in return for an indemnity of 2,000,000 crowns. Sweden was reduced to the position of a third-class power, and the problem of a Russian seaboard was solved. It seemed that a new era was at hand. Peter's delight was shared by his people. He returned to the town of his own foundation, St. Petersburg, and sailed up the Neva, firing salvos from the cannon of his yacht. A thanksgiving service was celebrated upon his landing, and in the square before the church a wooden stage was hastily erected and flanked by barrels of beer and brandy. Here Peter mounted and gave the signal for the commencement of the celebration by emptying his own glass. He received the title of Emperor of all the Russias, though not for many years afterwards was he thus acknowledged by the European powers, and himself lighted the fireworks with which the festivities of the day concluded, the official to whom this duty was entrusted having been discovered to be dead drunk. But peace did not mean idleness for him; he turned his attention in the direction of the Caspian and his eastern frontier.

This matter had been brought to his attention as early as 1691, when the burgomaster of Amsterdam had pointed out that Persia might become a source of much commercial gain. Peter had already attempted to open the eastern road from China, but the Jesuits had forestalled him in Pekin. He was informed that gold might be found on the Oxus River, and even during the course of the Swedish war Peter sent out small detachments in this direction, which met with invariable failure. In 1721 the Russian factories near Astrakhan had been ruined by Afghan invasions, and there seemed some prospect that if Peter did not bestir himself Turkey would forestall his intentions upon the dominions of the shah of Persia. Peter therefore started, in 1722, with an army of 100,000 men, but was forced to retire to Astrakhan, as his transports upon the Caspian were wrecked and his army was in danger of starvation. He was able, however, to occupy certain positions upon the Caspian shore, including Baku, and in the following year a treaty was signed by the shah ceding the whole of the Caspian coastline to Russia in return for her assistance against the insurgents who were disturbing Persia. The treaty was disputed, the Turks protested, and a new Partition Treaty between Russia and Turkey was concluded in 1724, though at the moment of signing it an Armenian deputation begged the Tsar's assistance against the Turks. Peter proposed to use the Christian population—the Armenians and Georgians—for his own purposes in the districts which he wished to wrest from Turkey and Persia. This clever policy he never lived to carry out, but Russia never lost her hold of the ground she had gained, and his action will be memorable at least for the fact that it first opened up what is now known as the Eastern Question.

Since the year 1701 the Tsar had passed beyond the frontiers of his empire annually, visiting his allies in their capitals, or taking the waters at such centres as Carlsbad. So early as 1698 he had been anxious to visit Paris, and had even negotiated for an invitation, but without success. The attention of France was absorbed by the War of the Spanish Succession, and Russia was regarded as something less important than Poland. Until 1705 the Russian envoys enjoyed no great consideration at Paris, and the centre of polite society in Europe was doubtless somewhat apprehensive of Muscovite manners. After the battle of Pultawa the French began to consider that the friendship of Russia might be worth having; moreover, Frenchmen had been settling in Russia in increasing numbers. On the death of Louis XIV, in 1715, Peter secured the services of a number of artists who had been thrown out of work by want of patronage. Frenchmen appeared at court, and a French chapel was built at St. Petersburg for the benefit of the French residents. In 1717 Peter was invited to make a journey to Paris, ostensibly to discuss the diplomatic arrangements necessitated by the fall of Sweden. He was received with great ceremony, and examined the curiosities and sights of the town, but the political alliance which he had hoped to secure was delayed by various obstacles. France was bound to Sweden by treaty until 1718, an arrangement which was fully countenanced by England, and the Tsar was useful to the French for the reason that Sweden might prove more manageable if it was thought that French diplomacy was tending towards Russia. The Tsar also had ideas of marrying his daughter to the young king of France, and was correspondingly compliant in the hope of securing this alliance; but the result again was a failure. The fact was that the two countries were at cross purposes, and the alliance, political or social, which was desired was, on either side, dictated by their personal advantage and not by the common good of both. The result was that no common point of interest could be found.

Peter's real greatness is not to be seen in his foreign policy nor in the military history of his reign, which was important only for the fact that it gave Russia an outlet upon the Baltic, and this again would have been of little use if Peter had not stirred up the nation to take advantage of it. His real importance in the history of his country and in that of Europe is due to the stimulus which he gave to the party of progress in Russia, and to the manner in which he reorganized the institutions of his country. In the first place, the old provincial administration opened the door to the worst possible abuses; the officials received no salary, but only grants of land, and were obliged to maintain themselves at the expense of the population. They therefore plundered the people and wrested money from them unmolested. Peter abolished this system, and appointed a fixed salary for every office. Moreover, the departments of the individual magistrates were by no means clearly distinguished. Peter for the first time reorganized these divisions of the empire, which eventually became forty-three provinces.

The local governors were supported by provincial councils elected from the nobles. Following the example of Denmark and Sweden, Peter created ten ministries to deal with Foreign Affairs, the War, the Navy, the Treasury, Law, the Collection of the Revenue, Estates, Manufactures, Mining, and Trade. The Supreme Court of Justice was the Senate, which took the place of the Council of the Nobles, while its president was ordered to watch over the observance of the law. Towns were allowed to administer their own affairs and to administer justice independently, while they were controlled by the chief magistrate at St. Petersburg, who was responsible only to the Senate. The system of taxation was improved by the substitution of a poll tax for the household tax. Many of these reforms were ill suited to the people whom he had to govern. Peter, unfortunately, imagined that methods of government could be imported as easily as methods of shipbuilding or architecture. His reign certainly marked a period in the history of the gradual development of Russian commerce, but his attempted reorganization of law and finance did little to accomplish this result. It was the establishment of a new means of communication and the opening of further outlets which enabled commerce to grow. At the same time two great reforms were accomplished; the people began to understand that the Tsar's peace was something more than an empty phrase. Peter created a body of police, and broke down the widely prevalent system of brigandage; coiners and thieves were hunted down and punished, and his subjects were enjoined to inform against them. Secondly, Peter entirely altered the position of the Church. When he came to the throne the Church was a state within a state, the Church property was enormous, and every Russian family of that period was anxious to have a priest, and possibly a church, to itself. The demand created the supply, and, apart from the large numbers of these irregularly employed clergy, convents and monasteries were crammed with men and women, many of whom had never taken any vows, but had adopted monastic dress to escape temporal troubles or entanglements, to avoid the performance of duty, or to enjoy the sweets of idleness. Peter made a general census of monks and nuns, and regulated their movements by a special department. Their revenues were paid into this department, and the monasteries received only so much as was necessary to support their actual needs, the surplus being expended upon charitable institutions. The Institution of the Holy Synod kept unworthy candidates out of the Church, and regulated certain performances of public worship. The civil and religious interests of the Church were entrusted to a permanent assembly, while its legislative, judicial, and administrative powers were placed under the management of a Government official.

Russian commercial industry did not exist at the time of Peter's accession. Peter's aim throughout his life was to increase both private happiness and state resources. He wished that his country should manufacture, as far as possible, many of the commodities which had previously been imported. By stimulating the productive power of his

Photo. Hanfstaengl

PETER THE GREAT ON A WHITE COSSACK HORSE

From the painting by Franz Casanova in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna

subjects he suppressed the idle and mendicant classes. The course of the war drove him even more vigorously than his natural inclinations in this direction. Money he must have, and a further impulse was given to his efforts by the discovery of the mineral wealth of the country. Ironworks were originally organized to satisfy the military needs; it was then found that they could be productive for other purposes. The French started tapestry works and stocking factories on the model of the Gobelin manufactories in Paris. Russian leather became a famous preparation in the hands of the English. Mining, agriculture, and stock rearing improved under the stimulus of foreign methods, and in fifteen years the national revenue increased from 3,000,000 to 10,000,000 roubles. Much labour was expended upon a system of canals which were to connect the various waterways of the country. Trade was opened with Persia across the shores of the Caspian, but the most permanent memorial of Peter's energy is the town which preserves his name, St. Petersburg. The strategical importance of the mouth of the Neva had been realized by Gustavus Adolphus, and Peter saw that it could also be valuable from a commercial point of view. It is said that Swedish prisoners were employed in the work, and died in thousands. A wooden fort was first built on the island, which was to be the future citadel of St. Peter and St. Paul; round this sprang up a number of modest buildings, and it was not until after the battle of Pultawa that Peter began to think of making St. Petersburg his capital town. His decision in so doing has been severely criticized. It has been said that the strategical and commercial importance of St. Petersburg was thereby extinguished, while no more unsuitable site for a capital could have been discovered. It was, moreover, a town easy to attack and difficult to defend. Commercially speaking, Riga was more favourably situated. Peter was founding the capital of a Slavonic empire among the Finns and against the Swedes, was placing the central administrative point of a vast area of country in one remote corner of it, while the district itself was utterly inhospitable. The ground was marshy and the surrounding district barren; inundations were frequent, and communication with the town both difficult and dangerous. Why, it is asked, could not Peter have been content to remain at Moscow, the ancient capital of the country?

His repugnance to Moscow no doubt arose from personal reasons. It was a reactionary and retrograde centre, providing an environment entirely hostile to the spirit of his work, and having for him disagreeable associations of palace intrigues and revolutions. Moreover, he was probably anxious to imitate Amsterdam, for which city he had a great admiration. Again, the capital of Russia had been shifted from place to place, from Novgorod to Kieff, from Kieff to Vladimir, and from Vladimir to Moscow, and if Peter wished to shift it once more he was not necessarily outraging national sentiment; this settlement upon the confines of his empire was a standard and an ensign to his people of Western progress, and a meeting place with Western civilization.

Before the Great Northern War the Russian army had consisted of a few regular regiments, while a system of recruiting from the estates of the landed proprietors also existed. Peter himself added a couple of regiments to those which he formed at first, for the pleasure of practising and manœuvring them. As we have seen, he also destroyed the Streltsy; but the war with Sweden showed that these military resources were inadequate. Peter then adopted a system of compulsory service, obliging individual districts to furnish a certain number of recruits. But at the siege of Narva, where he had 32,000 men, events clearly proved that the mere assembling of regiments was not enough to win battles. Few of them made any stand, because few of them possessed any tincture of military spirit. This fact Peter realized, and set himself to provide that respect for the honour of the regiment, that unconscious obedience to discipline, which alone could make the control of large masses of troops a possibility. By the end of his reign he had nearly 100,000 infantry and cavalry, but he had also soldiers who would stand and obey the orders of their officers. It is true, as has often been pointed out, that his military punishments were extremely barbarous, but it is also true that his system of enlistment placed no check upon the substitution or the purchase of recruits, with the result that his soldiers were often drawn from the dregs of the population. That he should have produced such results with such material is a real tribute to the greatness of the man. His navy, again, was called into existence by the necessities of the Swedish war. Ships of his had certainly sailed down the Volga and had been lost in the Caspian; in the White Sea, at Archangel, he possessed three ships which could be used for purposes of war; but in 1703 a shipbuilding yard was set up near the mouth of the Neva, and in the following year the young Russian navy was able to carry troops and provisions to Narva. Skirmishes with the Swedes were successfully fought, but it was not until 1714 that the Russian navy accomplished a real victory. In 1719 its operations largely contributed to bring about the Peace of Nystadt in 1721. These operations, however, were not precisely naval battles in our sense. Engagements were fought for the most part near the shore, and when a success was gained it was due to the numbers of troops carried on board, and not to any skill in manœuvring or gunnery. Though Peter was able to inspire his nation with a military spirit, he could not improvise sailors as easily; he went too fast and too far, and built ships before there were men ready to use them or able to navigate them. But the fleet was able to accomplish all that he required of it, to open up a trade route upon the Baltic for the influx of foreign commerce.

Peter also paid much attention to the subject of education. He was resolved that no one should be admitted to the service of the state who had not some small tincture of letters, while nobles who were unable to read or write were, in his opinion, unfit to retain their titles. The only schools in existence when he began his reign were those attached to a few monasteries, which enabled their pupils

to read the Scriptures, and provided some meagre notions of geography and history. Peter's legislation on the subject was inspired by high ideals but was often spasmodic, and the results which it produced were disconnected. In 1714, for instance, he published a decree for the establishment of provincial schools, elementary and secondary, in connection with the bishoprics and monasteries. Five years later he was informed that it had only been possible to open one of these, and that it contained no more than twenty-six pupils. Peter's engineering school is an instance of the rough-and-ready way in which he grappled with difficulties. Inspired by what he had seen abroad, he resolved to have an Academy for Engineering and Navigation and the Higher Mathematics, not so much with the object of diffusing knowledge as to provide a supply of officers for his army and navy. Richly endowed professorships were provided, and filled by German and English teachers; unfortunately there were no pupils. In 1713 the number of students attending the engineering school was found to be thirteen. Peter immediately forced some eighty youths belonging to the families of the palace servants to enter the school, and the learned professors were obliged to devote their energies to teaching these students the alphabet. But once again, if Peter's educational reforms failed to leaven the whole mass of the population they at least held up an ideal of learning, and inspired people with the idea that ignorance was rather a matter for shame than for self-congratulation. In 1700, when Peter was in Amsterdam, he ordered a Russian printing press to be set up in that town, and a number of works upon History, Arithmetic, Geography, War, and Navigation, most of them translations, were here printed. In 1707 a printer and his apparatus reached Moscow with a new Russian alphabet, the so-called civil alphabet as distinguished from the old Slav-Servian alphabet, still faithfully used by the Church. But the language, as well as the alphabet, stood in need of reform. In 1721 Peter ordered the Holy Synod, which had recently come into existence, to produce a translation of certain works by Puffendorf. The Church began to question whether they should use the old Slavonic language or the vernacular, which had undergone great alteration in the course of time. Peter settled the question by ordering them to use the language of his diplomatic chancery, a very cosmopolitan dialect, full of foreign words, and using native words in unusual senses; this became the language which is now written and spoken by a hundred million of people. Peter founded a museum, and sent out cartographers to survey his empire, and compiled a general atlas. He gathered a library, drawing upon the stores of books and manuscripts in the numerous monasteries of the empire. A Museum of Art and an Art School were also created. In 1703 the first Russian newspaper appeared in Moscow. Once again, the actual achievements in these directions were in themselves infinitesimal; they were valuable because they brought about a change of mental attitude, and therefore a modification in national thought and feeling.

From the same point of view Peter interfered with family and social life. The Asiatic seclusion in which women had hitherto lived was no longer tolerated; they were not to move about deeply veiled or carried in curtained litters. He attempted to introduce the social forms and customs of the West; Western dress was to be worn, and balls and receptions were given in Western style, in order, as he declared to the Danish ambassador, to make men out of beasts. People were ordered even to shave, and a tax was laid upon beards. But all these reforms were carried out in desperate haste, as if he feared that the night of barbarism would steal over the nation the moment that he was removed. Nor were his apprehensions unfounded; the old Russian party still lived; the officials, and nobles, and the clergy, and, indeed, his own relations were greatly dissatisfied with his reforms. When he returned from his travels in 1698 the story became current that the real Tsar had been drowned in the sea by the Germans, and that a stranger had come back to the country. The priests announced the approach of Anti-Christ, and made insinuations about Peter's mother which could only be interpreted to mean that Peter himself was Anti-Christ. The clergy, who had been shaken out of their apathetic existence by Peter, displayed great animosity. The Patriarch of Moscow asserted that shaven heads made men resemble animals, and that European dress was the mark of unchristian views. The consequence was a number of insurrections and revolutions which Peter was called upon to suppress, though how far these movements were due to the activities of the clergy cannot now be ascertained. To his deep sorrow the opposition party was headed by his sister, his wife, and his son, Alexis. He sent his wife, Eudoxia, to a convent in 1698, but even there she continued to intrigue against him. He threatened to deprive his son of his rights of succession. In 1717 Alexis made a tour abroad, and fled to the relations of his wife, Charlotte of Brunswick. Peter's agents overtook him near Naples and induced him to return home. There his father sat in judgment upon him, forced him to renounce the throne, and apparently killed him, if not with his own hand at any rate by his orders. When he had reorganized the Church in 1721, by abolishing the office of Patriarch and appointing the Holy Synod of Bishops and a civil official representing himself, revolutions became less frequent.

Peter reigned as an absolute monarch, far more absolute than any of his predecessors. Ivan the Terrible and his successors had summoned Provincial Diets from time to time; Peter refused to do so, and was supported in this policy by his ministers. He changed the law of succession, allowing each Tsar to nominate his own successor, in order that his reforms and those of his heirs might not be overthrown by some reactionary crown prince.

Peter, no doubt, in many respects was a barbarian; the savage punishments which he inflicted upon those who differed from him or disobeyed him, the wholesale tortures and executions with which either risings or discovered intrigues were concluded, and his apparently

John Bartholomew & Co. Edinr.

complete indifference to human suffering form a dark and gloomy counterpart to the enlightenment with which he strove to raise his nation; but it must be remembered that he had to deal with men in a low stage of civilization, who would have regarded clemency as weakness, and whose powers of endurance were far greater than any that Western nations possessed. His morals were those of his age, lax in the extreme, while he is said during his visit to Berlin never to have passed a single day without being the worse for drink. He was subject to fits of passion in which he completely lost his self-control, but in his pleasanter moments his temperament in many respects was that of a simple, eager child. Any fortunate event was trumpeted abroad by him to everyone within earshot. At the conclusion of the Peace of Nystadt he danced upon the tables and sang before the crowd with the abandonment of a schoolboy released for the holidays. He had a great liking for horseplay and practical jokes. Fires at St. Petersburg were frequent; one night, in 1723, Peter ordered the fire alarm to be rung, and when the panic-stricken citizens came rushing to the supposed scene of the disaster they were greeted by the king, standing before a brazier in one of the public squares, with shouts of "April Fools' Day!" One day, when he was dining with the duke of Holstein, he said that he had taken the waters of Olonets for several years in succession, and had found them highly beneficial. The duke's minister expressed his intention of following this example, whereupon the Tsar delivered a tremendous slap upon the fat, round back of the diplomatist and shouted: "What, pour water into such a cask as this! Nonsense!"

Peter was a hard worker; he was generally out of bed by five o'clock and soon ready for his secretary, who read him the daily reports of the departments. After a rapid breakfast he would go out and inspect the dockyards, visit the admiralty, or any other centre of interest which attracted him, and return to lunch off a biscuit and a glass of brandy. He would then work at dispatches until one o'clock, when he dined. His private life was by no means luxurious; he objected to servants at the table, and in his own house meals were quite unceremonious. State dinners, however, given in the summer palace, were carefully arranged. But he never acquired any habits of cleanliness or order. We have heard how he treated Evelyn's house in Deptford. During his stay at Berlin, in 1718, the queen wisely removed all her furniture from the residence then assigned to him, and after Peter had ended his stay the margravine of Bayreuth described the condition of the establishment by saying: "The desolation of Jerusalem reigned within it". He died on 8 February, or, in his own calendar, 28 January, 1725, at the age of fifty-three. Whatever his defects, the fact is undoubted that the history of modern Russia begins with him. He breathed a new life into the frame of an inert Colossus. His energy was the wonder of foreign diplomatists: "The Tsar", wrote the Danish ambassador, "towers above all other men in his realms. He is a marvel of wisdom, acuteness, observation, perspicacity, and

strength." Other ambassadors have borne similar testimony, and if many of his institutions proved ephemeral they none the less provided the necessary stimulus for later developments. They were for the most part introduced from purely utilitarian motives. Peter saw an institution, an art, or a practice acting beneficially abroad, and immediately transferred it to his own country without first considering how far it was likely to flourish in its new environment. He made Russia a nation of soldiers, and workers, and officials, but beyond this the civilization which he introduced did not go. Here he acted wisely, whether consciously or not. Russia was not at that time, and in some respects is not now, a country in which art and literature could flourish easily. A people that is struggling daily to wrest the means of subsistence from an inhospitable Nature, subject to extremities of cold and heat, has but little time to spare for the amenities of life. But Peter at least laid the foundations without which no civilization can exist: he taught his people to work and to fight.

CHAPTER XIV

Frederick the Great (A.D. 1712–1786)

The Hohenzollern dynasty derives its name from the ancient castle of Zollern, near Hechingen, in the plains between the Neckar and the Danube. The counts of this family were well-known figures in German affairs from an early date. In 1192 Count Frederick became Burgrave of Nuremberg; his two sons divided the family estates, Frederick II founding the Suabian line of the Hohenzollerns, while Conrad I retained Nuremberg and became the founder of the Franconian line. This latter branch became great and powerful by advantageous marriages, which were followed by inheritance of territory, and successive emperors were glad of their support. In 1416 Frederick IV was appointed governor of Brandenburg by the Emperor Sigismund; four years later he was made elector and assumed the title of Frederick I, margrave of Brandenburg. This province, which took its name from its chief town, is situated in the centre of the modern kingdom of Prussia, and became a margravate, or mark province, after the final subjugation of the Wends by the Germans in 1134. After Frederick I's accession the political influence of the Hohenzollerns steadily increased. Joachim I received a right of reversion to the province of Pomerania; under Joachim II a double marriage between the children of the Brandenburg and the Suabian branches laid the foundation for future claims to Silesia. The same ruler obtained a reversion right to Prussia in 1569, a province originally conquered and converted to Christianity by the Knights of the Teutonic Order.

The kingdom of Prussia began its modern course in 1611, when the electorate of Brandenburg and the duchy of Prussia were united under the rule of a Hohenzollern prince. Prussia proper was a small state upon the shore of the Baltic in Poland, to the east of the Vistula, originally inhabited by a Lithuanian tribe, the Borussi. These heathens had been conquered by the Teutonic knights in the thirteenth century, and the district had been gradually colonized by German immigration. During the Thirty Years' War the electorate of Brandenburg pursued a timorous and vacillating policy; terrorized into an alliance by Gustavus Adolphus, its unenterprising electors would have liked nothing better than to be left alone. But before the close of that great struggle Brandenburg found a competent and energetic ruler, from 1640 to 1688, in Frederick William, known as the Great Elector. He followed the example of Louis XIV of France by establishing a strongly centralized absolutism; he also created that indispensable

instrument of an absolute government, a standing army. In 1675 Louis XIV induced the Swedes to invade Brandenburg, and the elector utterly routed them at Fehrbellin, a victory which at once made the Hohenzollerns famous in Europe. Frederick William's able administration made Prussia prosperous at home and secured for her some respect abroad; at the Peace of Westphalia he was able to gain a valuable accession of territory. His successor, Frederick III (1698–1713), was ambitious of the title of king; other rulers of less importance than himself enjoyed that dignity. William of Orange had been chosen king of England, and Augustus of Saxony was elected king of Poland. The emperor and his advisers were not at first inclined to grant the necessary permission to a Protestant prince, but Augustus needed the help of Frederick in the coming war of the Spanish Succession, and in return for his support Frederick was allowed to assume the royal title in the duchy of Prussia, which, as part of Poland, was not included in the empire. He was therefore duly crowned in 1701, and became elector of Brandenburg and king of Prussia. If his acquisition of this new title was due to his love of ostentation and display, the change none the less formed a landmark in European history. After the house of Hapsburg had thus invested the rival house of Hohenzollern with the royal dignity, the rise of Prussia became the central feature of German history.

Frederick William I, who reigned from 1713 to 1740, the son and successor of the first king of Prussia, was an extraordinary and in many respects a misunderstood figure. The grotesque and eccentric sides of his character have been allowed to overshadow the real services which he rendered to his country. He was a choleric and irascible personage, liable to extraordinary outbursts of rage which were often succeeded by fits of despondency and depression when he repented of his lack of self-control. Macaulay's well-known description of his domineering interference with the private concerns of his subjects, though true to facts, is liable to leave the impression made by a caricature, unless counterbalanced by due consideration of Frederick William's keen sense of duty and energetic toil for the welfare of his country. He certainly walked into private houses and inspected the family dinner, he certainly caned idlers when he happened to meet them, and it is probable that his citizens often fled from his approach as from a tiger escaped from a menagerie. He also made smoking a courtly habit, and the members of his tobacco parliament had to hold their pipes and raise their mugs as a duty if not as a pleasure. He could, and did, eat a hundred oysters at a sitting. But he also worked sixteen hours a day. He re-created the army and first introduced the idea of universal obligation to military service. His system of taxation remained in force for a century without a change. He vastly increased the crown domains, and made East Prussia a flourishing province instead of a desert. He entirely reorganized the whole system of local administration, introduced and fostered manufactures, and stamped upon Prussia the broad features which the state yet

THE EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA
Prussia in 1648
Prussian Acquisitions, 1648-1795
English Miles
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Longitude East 14 of Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Bornholm
Memel
Tauroggen
Pregel
Labiau
Königsberg
Wehlau
Pillau
PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
NEW EAST PRUSSIA
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
Marienwerder
Elbing
Ermeland
Culmerland
Graudenz
Schwetz
Flatow
Bromberg
Thorn
Usez
Pultusk
R. Bug
Bialystok
Plock
Warsaw
Rawa
POLAND
SOUTH PRUSSIA
Posen
Kalisz
Fraustadt
Glogau
Lower Silesia
Liegnitz
Leuthen
Breslau
Mollwitz
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Czenstochowa
Upper Silesia
Strehlen
Neisse
Beuthen
Oppeln
Jagerndorf
Pless
Teschen
Olmütz
MORAVIA
Brünn
Iglau
Budweis
Moldau
Vienna
Pressburg
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
Radstadt
SALZBURG
Passau
Regensburg
Eichstädt
Ingolstadt
Munich
Augsburg
Ulm
Memmingen
Kempten
Constance
Bregenz
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Basel
Besançon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Belfort
Montbeliard
Strasbourg
Metz
Nancy
Toul
Bar-le-Duc
Epinal
LORRAINE
Saarbrücken
Mainz
Worms
Spires
Heidelberg
Manheim
Darmstadt
Frankfurt
Wiesbaden
Coblenz
Ehrenbreitstein
Treves
Luxemburg
Namur
Dinant
Liege
Verviers
Aix-la-Chapelle
Juliers
Cologne
Crefeld
Duisburg
Dusseldorf
Elberfeld
Barmen
Dortmund
Soest
Paderborn
Arolsen
Cassel
Waldeck
Minden
Osnabrück
Münster
Lippe
Detmold
Bielefeld
Hanover
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Hildesheim
Goslar
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Wittenberg
Dessau
Gottingen
Northausen
Mansfeld
Halle
Leipzig
Torgau
Hubertusberg
Roßbach
Hochkirch
Bautzen
Dresden
Meissen
Freiberg
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Plauen
Hohenfriedberg
Kesselsdorf
Prague
Kolin
Chotusitz
Leitmeritz
Lobositz
Pilsen
Eger
Hof
Bamberg
Würzburg
Erlangen
Culmbach
Bayreuth
Schweinfurt
Fulda
Hesse-Darmstadt
Hesse-Cassel
Gotha
Erfurt
Mühlhausen
Eisenach
Coburg
Meiningen
Hildburghausen
Ansbach
Anspach
Hall
Bellbronn
Stuttgart
Ludwigsburg
Esslingen
Heilbronn
Wurtemburg
Ulm
Ratisbon
Neuburg
Ingolstadt
Eichstädt
Nuremberg
Schwabach
Erlangen
Bayreuth
Culmbach
Upper Palatinate
Palatinate
Rhine
Hohenzollern
Ribeach
Sigmaringen
Donaueschingen
Freiburg
Breisgau
Sundgau
Alsace
Basel
Porrentruy
Neuchatel
Bern
Lausanne
Geneva
Chambery
Grenoble
Valence
Lyons
Dijon
Auxonne
Langres
Vesoul
Belfort
Montbeliard
Besançon
Franche Comté
Switzerland
Salzburg
Radstadt
Inn
Danube
Rhine
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Warta
Netze
Brahe
Drage
Havel
Spree
Saale
Weser
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Maese
Moselle
Saar
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Main
Neckar
Tauber
Jagst
Kocher
Lech
Iller
Isar
Inn
Salza
Traun
Enns
Drave
Mur
Rabb
Leytha
Morava
Elbe
Eger
Moldau
Sazawa
Iglawa
Thaya
Zwittawa
Oppa
Oder
Neisse
Bober
Katzbach
Queis
Lausitzer Neisse
Spree
Havel
Dosse
Rhin
Stor
Trave
Wakenitz
Schwartau
Ratzeburg
Lübeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Rügen
Stettin
Damm
Gollnow
Treptow
Kolberg
Bütow
Stolpe
Rummelsburg
Lauenburg
Neustrelitz
Prenzlau
Templin
Wittstock
Pritzwalk
Perleberg
Kyritz
Havelberg
Stendal
Gardelegen
Salzwedel
Osterburg
Seehausen
Werben
Odervitz
Bärwalde
Arnswalde
Driesen
Landsberg
Frankfurt
Crossen
Guben
Cottbus
Sorau
Sagan
Glogau
Liegnitz
Lüben
Bunzlau
Görlitz
Zittau
Schmiedeberg
Hirschberg
Landshut
Glatz
Habelschwerdt
Mittelwalde
Neisse
Ottmachau
Brieg
Oppeln
Rosenberg
Strasburg
Marienwerder
Neuenburg
Dirschau
Pr. Stargard
Schwetz
Graudenz
Culm
Briesen
Gollub
Rypin
Lipno
Plock
Gombin
Sochaczew
Blonie
Grodzisk
Skierniewice
Rawa
Inowlodz
Petrikau
Piotrkow
Radomsko
Kalisz
Konin
Slupca
Gnesen
Posen
Rogasen
Meseritz
Bomst
Fraustadt
Lissa
Rawicz
Kosten
Grätz
Schlichtingsheim
Wollstein
Lissa
Bojanowo
Krotoschin
Ostrowo
Pleschen
Kempen
Rawicz
Fraustadt
Militsch
Trachenberg
Wartenberg
Namslau
Wilhelmsberg
Kreutzburg
Rosenberg
Oppeln
Neustadt
Leobschütz
Ratibor
Hultschin
Troppau
Jägerndorf
Freudenthal
Zuckmantel
Neisse
Glatz
Habelschwerdt
Mittelwalde
Silberberg
Frankenstein
Münsterberg
Ohlau
Brieg
Strehlen
Nimptsch
Reichenbach
Schweidnitz
Bolkenhain
Landshut
Hirschberg
Jauer
Goldberg
Liegnitz
Lüben
Bunzlau
Haynau
Löwenberg
Lauban
Görlitz
Rothenburg
Muskau
Forst
Sorau
Crossen
Züllichau
Schwiebus
Sternberg
Zielenzig
Landsberg
Soldin
Arnswalde
Friedeberg
Dramburg
Neustettin
Schlochau
Flatow
Tuchel
Konitz
Pr. Stargard
Dirschau
Neuenburg
Strasburg
Marienwerder
Rosenberg
Deutsch Eylau
Osterode
Hohenstein
Neidenburg
Soldau
Ortelsburg
Johannisburg
Lötzen
Angerburg
Gumbinnen
Insterburg
Darkehmen
Stallupönen
Pillkallen
Tilsit
Ragnit
Memel
Heydekrug
Polangen
Mitau
Libau
Windau
Goldingen
Hasenpoth
Frauenburg
Braunsberg
Heilsberg
Rastenburg
Lötzen
Johannisburg
Ortelsburg
Neidenburg
Soldau
Mlawa
Przasnysz
Ostrolenka
Lomza
Pultusk
Nowogrodek
Grodno
Bialystok
Kamieniec
Brest
Pinsk
Slonim
Wolkowisk
Bielsk
Tykocin
Sokolka
Augustowo
Suwalki
Kalwarya
Marienpol
Wilkowisk
Kowno
Wilna
Oszmiana
Minsk
Nowogrodek
Slutsk
Bobruisk
Mohilew
Orsha
Smolensk
Dorogobusch
Wiasma
Gzatsk
Mozaisk
Borodino
Moscow
Kolomna
Serpuchow
Tula
Kaluga
Medyn
Jukhnow
Wiasma
Rzhev
Zubtsov
Volokolamsk
Klin
Dmitrov
Pereslavl
Rostov
Yaroslavl
Uglich
Rybinsk
Mologa
Bezhetsk
Ostashkov
Torzhok
Tver
Kashin
Kalyazin
Ksniatin
Vyshni Volochok
Novgorod
Valdai
Borovichi
Tikhvin
Ladoga
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Petrozavodsk
Kargopol
Vytegra
Lodeinoe Pole
Olonetz
Kem
Kola
Archangel
Onega
Mezen
Pinega
Kholmogory
Shenkursk
Kargopol
Vologda
Totma
Ustsysolsk
Kotelnich
Nolinsk
Orlov
Slobodskoi
Yaransk
Kotelnich
Vyatka
Sarapul
Votkinsk
Izhevsk
Kazan
Simbirsk
Samara
Saratov
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan
Volga
Kama
Oka
Don
Dnieper
Dniester
Pruth
Bug
Vistula
Niemen
Dwina
Volga
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Niemen
Dwina

retains. It was his rigid economy which made success possible for Frederick the Great. Nor did he spare himself: if he expected his subjects to pour wealth into his coffers, he was ready himself to save money by drinking beer instead of wine. In the department of foreign policy he was not successful. He was inclined to regard his carefully equipped and well-trained army as too precious a possession to be risked in schemes of aggrandizement, and his well-known mania for tall life-guardsmen, which became notorious throughout Europe and often involved him in trouble with other powers, helped to reinforce the idea that his military preparations were no reason for apprehension. At the same time there was a no less general idea that his troops could have given a good account of themselves if he could have brought himself to risk them upon a battlefield. In short, Frederick William had a genius for administration which was hampered by an undue respect for the proverb that a man must do for himself what he wishes to see well done. A considerable portion of his work would have been equally well performed by a staff of clerks, but he was obsessed with the idea that nothing could go right except under his personal superintendence. If he thus gave himself a vast amount of needless trouble, he set an example of energy and devotion which his people have ever since remembered.

His eldest son, Frederick, was born on 24 January, 1712. His childhood and youth were far from happy. His father's ideas of education were pedantic and narrow-minded, and he enforced his views with a severity which was often tyrannical. His own household was continually devastated by the explosions of rage which made him the terror of his officials. There is a comical side to this portion of Frederick's history; and the description of his father's surprise visit to his room, when the tutor was rushed into a hiding place, and the pupil's embroidered dressing-gown and French books were hurled into the fire and out of the window by the enraged opponent of French foppery, has probably raised a smile upon many a reader's lips. But the saddest of tragedies is provided by the opposition of father and son, both strong characters, alike convinced of the correctness of their views and unable to make allowance, concession, or compromise. There were faults on both sides: the father's notion of proper historical instruction was to make his son learn indiscriminately the facts contained within that stout and dreary volume, *Theatrum Europæum*. His tutors opened the wealth of French literature to him, and their tastes were fostered by the family governess, Mlle de Rocoulle, with the result that Frederick retained a fine contempt for the German language and a strong preference for French throughout his life. Something of refinement and culture he saw at the court of Dresden, whither he accompanied his father on a visit in 1728, and which ended in the visits of Quantz to Berlin for the purpose of giving Frederick lessons in flute playing. To this instrument he was devoted throughout his life. The antagonism between himself and his father was increased by the attitude of his mother, Queen Sophia Dorothea, who took her son's

side in the family quarrels. She was a literary and artistic character, accustomed to the gaiety and polish of French society, and had scarce a single point in common with her husband. When she found that her eldest son had inherited her tastes, she naturally gave him her sympathy. The stern old king endeavoured to counteract this influence by placing his son under the care of Lieutenant-Colonel von Rochow, who was to impress the crown prince with the fact that "all effeminate and ladylike occupations were most unbecoming to a man and were fit only for fops and squires of dames". Devoid of paternal affection he was not: when Frederick fell ill in 1728 he showed signs of deep anxiety; when he found his son in debt he paid readily, only telling him that he should have money if he liked to ask for it. But he had a capacity for showing his son the worst side of his nature, and Frederick continually roused his fury by small vanities in dress and affectations of manner which were in this case as a red rag to a bull. On one occasion Frederick was given a good place at a shooting party, and when the drive was over it was discovered that he had killed nothing; the king was informed that he had spent the time reading a book, and the result was a fresh outburst of wrath and a further widening of the breach.

Then came disputes about Frederick's marriage. The queen wished to see a union between her nephew and niece, the children of George II of England, and Frederick and Wilhelmina, her eldest daughter. English diplomacy was quite ready thus to join Prussia to English interests, but Austria worked with equal vigour in the opposite direction. The king was deceived by Seckendorff, and negotiations were broken off, much to the disappointment of Frederick, whose mother had interested him profoundly in the proposed match. Frederick regarded this result as the culmination of his grievances, and resolved to end them by flight to England, where he would appeal to his uncle for protection. His departure had been arranged for 5 August, 1730, when the project was betrayed to the king. Frederick was captured and imprisoned, as also was his accomplice, Lieutenant von Katte. His other helper, Lieutenant Keith, contrived to make his escape in time. With Roman severity the king actually proposed to condemn his son to execution as a deserter, and only the strongest protests by the members of the court martial were able to shake his purpose. To Katte he was merciless, and the young man was executed almost under Frederick's eyes in the fortress of Kustrin. The crown prince was greatly shaken by this climax to the scenes which he had been forced to witness since the failure of his plans; the consolations of religion made a further impression upon him, and it was in a very chastened frame of mind that he took an oath of obedience to his father and composed himself to remain at Kustrin practically as a state prisoner, and to work in the royal state office and in the department of war. Two lessons he learnt during this period which were of value to him in later years. He learnt to conceal his feelings. He had to win the approval of his overseers in order to regain his

father's confidence, and such men as the coarse and cowardly Grumbkow were unlikely confidants of the scorn and humiliation which he felt. He also gained an insight into business methods, and learned that kingdoms cannot be successfully governed and wars waged without strict attention to detail. He saw that behind his father's tyranny and rigid prejudices lay an invincible patriotism and an ardent desire for the welfare of his people, which object he was pursuing to the best of his lights; and Frederick was himself attracted by this laudable ideal, and found some pleasure in increasing the productiveness of a farm when he realized that he was thus increasing the strength of the kingdom. When he came to the throne, he found that the business experience thus gained was invaluable.

Another sore trial followed. His father forced him to marry. The chosen princess, Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern, was both pretty and attractive, but Frederick showed the greatest disinclination to the match. "She may be as frivolous as she likes, provided that she is not a simpleton," he exclaims. The princess was no simpleton; she did her utmost to win Frederick's heart, and the pair were able afterwards to look back upon their early years of married life at Rheinsberg as the happiest period of their lives. But, on the one hand, Frederick's native pride would have rejected the most angelic of beings if she had been forced upon him; on the other hand, his nature was but little attracted to women. After his accession, such influence as the princess had upon him soon disappeared. Frederick's absence upon campaigns further divided them, and for years at a time they did not meet. No one seems to have taken her place. The affection which might have been expected in family life was given to the circle of friends with whom he discussed philosophy and music or the plans and operations of war. He was married in June, 1733, and in the following year received from his father the district of Ruppin as an appanage, and made the castle of Rheinsberg his residence. Here he gathered round him all the intellectual society that he could collect, and worked to complete his education. He studied French literature and began to write French verse; poor stuff, no doubt, but a training in self-expression. He studied strategy and tactics, and the history of war. He drilled his regiment even to his father's satisfaction, and accompanied the ageing tyrant upon his tours of inspection. He opened correspondence with Voltaire and Wolf the philosopher, with Rollin the historian, with Maupertuis the mathematician. On 31 May, 1740, Frederick William died, and his son reigned in his stead.

The ministers and councillors speedily realized that the young king intended to rule no less energetically than his father. "I may give a correct idea of the new government", wrote the Danish ambassador, "by stating that the king of Prussia insists upon doing absolutely everything himself; except from the Minister of Finance, who preaches economy, his majesty will take advice from no one." A few months later the emperor Charles VI died. Frederick resolved

to attack Maria Theresa and to secure Silesia for himself. Macaulay's indictment of this determination is well known, and few have attempted to defend it on the ground of justice. Frederick himself was well aware that his claim was utterly flimsy: "Be my Cicero as to the justice of my cause and I will be thy Cæsar as to its execution", he wrote to Jordan after he had begun his invasion. The simple fact is that Frederick wished to make Prussia a power in the councils of Europe, and for this purpose to extend his frontiers and his reputation. Other powers had mocked his father's regiment of guards and his love of drill; Frederick would show them that the treasured army was not merely ornamental. The political morality of his day was not accustomed to be righteous overmuch. Louis XIV had made war upon shallower pretexts than that which Frederick now employed. There was no difficulty in overrunning Silesia, but in 1741 Frederick had to fight his first regular battle at Mollwitz. The opposing powers were equally matched, the conflict was long and murderous, and Frederick, knowing that his fortunes depended on the issue, lost his head. Field-Marshal Schwerin suggested an excuse for his retirement from the field, which he seized under the impression that the battle was lost. As soon as Frederick had gone, Schwerin made a final effort, and turned the fortune of the day in favour of Prussia. The moral effect of the victory was immense, and Europe recognized that a new military power had risen to view. A second victory at Caslau confirmed this opinion, and Maria Theresa was glad to make peace in 1742. But in the following year an alliance was concluded between Austria, England, Holland, and Sardinia which was soon joined by Saxony. Frederick concluded that an attempt to recover Silesia was in preparation, and determined to anticipate any attack. In 1744 he began the second Silesian war and invaded Bohemia. The overwhelming forces of the Austrians obliged him to retire, and Silesia was overrun by the enemy. But his victories in the following year paved the way for the Peace of Dresden, which was signed on Christmas Day, 1745. Frederick retained possession of Silesia and returned in triumph to Berlin. His revenues were exhausted, he had been obliged to coin even his family plate, and he realized that Prussia must have time to recover before any further enterprises could be undertaken. He devoted the following years of peace to the work of fostering her prosperity.

Peace brought Frederick no lack of occupation. His life was ruled by order and regularity, and the general arrangement of his day remained unaltered throughout his life, except under stress of circumstances. In summer he rose at four o'clock in the morning and went to his desk, where he found the dispatches which had come in during the night. Any communications of importance he read himself, and ordered précis to be made of the remainder. He then heard reports from his ministers, and usually devoted any spare time to his flute. He would walk about from room to room as he played, and this was the time when he received his most fruitful inspirations upon matters

THE ROUND TABLE AT SANSSOUCI. From the painting by Adolf Menzel in the National Gallery, Berlin.

In this plate we see the great creator of modern Prussia in free conversation over the supper-table with his intimate friends in his favourite mansion of Sanssouci. Frederick the Great was strongly French in his tastes, speaking and writing French by preference, choosing his friends mainly from among Frenchmen, and characteristically giving a French name to his mansion.

The painter, Adolf Menzel (1815–1905), is specially known by his many paintings of Frederick the Great's life and times. He was directed to this subject mainly by a commission to illustrate Kugler's *History of Frederick the Great* in 1839–42. The date of the picture here reproduced is 1850.

THE ROUND TABLE AT SANSSOUCI — ADOLF MENZEL

of peace, war, or policy. When his ministers returned with their précis he gave directions for the replies to be written. After the conclusion of this cabinet council he took his midday meal, to which such guests were invited as were interesting or agreeable by reason of their attainments or conversational powers. French was always spoken at this meal, though Frederick made German the official language. He led the conversation himself, but everyone was expected to contribute something to the common stock. He then signed letters and dispatches, played his flute, and spent a couple of hours in literary work. From six to seven in the evening there was a concert, at which Quantz or some other virtuoso performed, while Frederick himself regularly contributed one or two solos. Then came supper, which conversation often protracted until midnight. This regular course of life was interrupted from time to time by tours of inspection through his provinces, on which he paid the greatest attention to the conditions under which his people lived. He was well aware that agriculture was the economic strength of his state, and strove to improve the position and prospects of the peasants. He strongly objected to the condition of serfdom under which many of them lived, and would have abolished it had he not found the objection of the nobles insuperable. Ill treatment of peasants roused his deep anger, and the wife of one of his best officers at the battle of Hohenfreidberg, the Countess Gessler, was sentenced to a long period of imprisonment for this offence. To the excuses of the count, Frederick replied that justice knew no exceptions, and was the same for all. He also made every effort to increase the productivity of the soil, and, like Bismarck, he had a thorough knowledge of farming. The potato was first introduced into Prussia by Frederick, and for years he strove to overcome local prejudices against its cultivation. Village clergy were ordered to address their congregations from the pulpit on the value of the potato. Efforts were made to stimulate manufactures, and Frederick gave special attention to the silk and porcelain industries.

Frederick's intellectual interests were keen and vigorous; he derived the greatest stimulus from personal intercourse and conversation, and was therefore anxious to make the acquaintance of anyone whose literary work or scientific fame had reached his ears. He had written to Voltaire and invited him to his court immediately after his accession; in 1740 he first met him at Wesel, and Voltaire was soon induced to pay a visit to Berlin. Each day of this visit cost the king 550 thalers, as he complained in a letter to Jordan, but he felt an infinite admiration for the poet and wished to have him for a tutor in the art of verse-making, and hoped perhaps also to be famed no less as a patron of literature than as a soldier and a general. In 1750 he induced Voltaire to settle for a time in the palace of Sanssouci. Frederick's new acquisition proved expensive: 4000 thalers for his journey, a yearly salary of 3000 for himself and 2000 for his niece, Madame Denis, with free living, carriage, and attendance in the castle. Voltaire was also made

a chamberlain and a Knight of the Order of Merit. But, while the two men had much in common, Frederick was repelled by Voltaire's avarice and by his feminine jealousy of anyone who seemed to secure the smallest precedence of himself. Maupertuis, for instance, he lampooned in his most satirical style, and when Frederick took the mathematician's part a quarrel was the outcome. Frederick himself was fond of venting sarcastic remarks upon friends and foes, but in this respect he found that he had met his match in Voltaire. Reconciliation followed these outbreaks, but the association could not last. When Voltaire finally returned to Paris he packed up a volume of Frederick's poems, out of which he perhaps hoped to make some capital in France. Frederick arrested him in Frankfort-on-Main, and refused to release him until the precious volume was produced. This affair caused a great scandal and considerable amusement in Paris; Voltaire revenged himself by attempts to make Frederick and his literary efforts the laughing-stock of Europe. Such experiences deepened that distrust of human nature which Frederick had learned in his childhood; as years went by he became colder and more reserved, and seemed to expend all his affection upon his dogs.

The ten years from 1746 to 1756 were the period of Frederick's greatest literary activity. He showed much facility as a rhymster, but no stretch of imagination can credit him with the title of poet. A curious lack of taste seemed characteristic of him; noble and original ideas stand isolated amid dreary wastes of commonplace. One is tempted to think that he could not recognize a good thing when he saw it. The best feature in the French literature of his time, the revolt against convention and the return to nature, never appealed to him, and Rousseau he regarded as an eccentric. His history of his own times is marked by the defects inevitable in such a work, a want of the sense of proportion, partiality of judgment, and failure of memory. To the historian of the period who possesses those means of controlling the narrative which Frederick lacked, the work is invaluable, and is, in any case, remarkable for the patent honesty of purpose with which it is inspired. He was as ready to write as he was to learn. Sanssouci at one time saw within its walls a most heterogeneous collection of heretics, agnostics, unbelievers, and reformers, a company very typical of the free thought and philosophical speculation which paved the way for the French Revolution, and a company impossible for an absolute monarch who was not also one of the most large-minded and tolerant of men.

While Frederick was thus developing the resources of his kingdom and training his army, Maria Theresa was engaged in forming a league against him. She excited the Empress Elizabeth of Russia against Frederick on personal grounds; she secured the favour of Louis XV of France and of his mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, whose influence was so paramount that Frederick himself attempted to win her interest, though without success. Frederick, as usual, vented his contempt for her in various sarcasms, which were duly and

treacherously brought to her ears by Voltaire. In the same way he had made an implacable enemy of the empress of Russia; in fact these three women brought most of his later troubles upon him. Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, and Sweden were in alliance against Frederick, whose only ally was England. Frederick, as usual, resolved to strike the first blow when he learned of the forces arrayed against him, and thus opened the Seven Years' War, which lasted from 1756 to 1763. He began with a series of successes: in the famous battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he defeated the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the world's greatest generals. Napoleon always regarded the battle of Leuthen as a masterpiece. Then came a period of defeat and despair. His own state could not bear up against a continent in arms; Chatham fell from power and England withdrew her aid; defeat followed defeat, and with ruin staring him in the face, Frederick began to contemplate suicide. Fortune changed: in 1762 the empress of Russia died, and Peter III, her successor, who was a warm admirer of Frederick, immediately joined the side of Prussia and declared that he and Frederick together would conquer the whole world. In a few months Peter was murdered by his wife, who came to the throne of Russia as Catherine II, and declared for neutrality. But Frederick had gained a breathing space, and in the following year his adversaries were glad to sign the Peace of Paris. Then the Treaty of Hubertsburg, between Austria and Prussia, concluded the long struggle. Frederick retained Silesia; but the war had extended far beyond the confines of Europe. The Peace of Paris not only determined the future of Prussia as the coming leader in Germany, it also gave India and North America to the English and crowned the efforts of Clive and Wolfe.

Frederick entered upon this titanic struggle for his very existence in no spirit of self-aggrandizement, as in the First Silesian War, but in the belief that attack was the best means of defence, and in the course of it he went through the whole range of human emotions. The population of Prussia was about five millions, that of the states leagued against him at least a hundred millions. Austria, Russia, or France were individually stronger powers than Prussia. Yet Frederick sustained the unequal conflict in yearly danger of being crushed by sheer weight of numbers, and hailing each winter as a respite and a breathing space. Europe and even his enemies were amazed at his constancy and tenacity, and even during the years when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb his skill was the admiration of Europe. His use of the famous "oblique formation", the excellence of his cavalry, then the best trained and best handled in Europe, the rapidity with which his tactics were executed, won for him by general consent the title of the first general in Europe, and for half a century his methods revolutionized Continental warfare. That smaller numbers should so often be victorious, and that even defeat rarely implied rout, seemed incredible to his contemporaries.

Especially great was the reputation which he made by his defeat of the French at Rossbach, in 1757. The imperial army and the French under Soubise were preparing to take up winter quarters in Saxony, and had secured the line of the Saale, the bridge of which they had broken down. Frederick marched against them with 22,000 men, contrived to cross the river, and entrenched himself near Weissenfels, between the village of Bedra and Rossbach. The allies had no doubt of their ability to surround and capture him, and Soubise dispatched a messenger to Versailles, declaring that Frederick was in a hopeless position. They began their turning movement about midday; their cavalry proceeded unsuspectingly in marching order, when a battery suddenly opened fire upon them from a neighbouring hill, and Frederick's cavalry, led by Seydlitz himself, crashed into them before they had recovered from their surprise. Seydlitz swept round to the rear of the infantry, already attacked in flank by the Prussian foot. In half an hour the battle was over, the allied army was in flight, and Frederick was master of 7000 prisoners and thirty-six guns. It is easy after the event to criticize the tactics of an enemy who could thus rashly expose his flank; but the rapidity with which Frederick's troops were manœuvred was beyond all calculation on the part of the imperial generals. It was the first great defeat that Germans had inflicted upon French troops; France had imposed her will upon German states and her language and culture upon Frederick himself. The victory was greeted with delight nowhere greater than in England.

Frederick had his moments of weakness. The surprise of Hochkirch in 1758 was due to want of care. Kolin, in the previous year, was lost through some strange aberration of genius, when Frederick suddenly changed the details of a plan that promised success and refused the advice of his most capable generals. But such failures did not shake the infinite confidence which the rank and file felt in their leader. Numerous were the stories told of his intrepidity, his kindliness and readiness to joke with the soldiers; of the loyalty of his troops, and how he would play the flute in his tent when his position seemed most critical, how his wounded sang hymns as they lay on the battlefield, how he took off his hat to a regiment as it marched by. "Gunners," he called to a passing detachment, which had lost its guns in the surprise attack at Hochkirch, "where have you left your guns?" "The devil took them away last night," shouted one. "Then we must take them back again by day." "That we will, and he shall pay interest for them too." Poor stuff, but enough to show that Frederick and his soldiers understood one another thoroughly. No less remarkable was the loyalty of his provinces. Prussia, Pomerania, and Westphalia suffered terribly under the strain and drain of war, but complaint and murmuring were never heard. A number of recruits failed to find their destination and returned home; their relations and countrymen stigmatized them as traitors and drove them back to the army. The great commander's reputation spread to

FREDERICK II (THE GREAT), KING OF PRUSSIA

From the painting by Anna Dorothea Liszewska (Mme. Therbusch) at Versailles

countries which he had never seen or known. The sultan of Morocco released the crew of a ship captured by the Barbary corsairs, gave them an outfit of clothing, and sent them to Lisbon with the assurance that he would take no Prussian prisoners and molest no Prussian ship so long as the king of Prussia, the greatest hero in the world, was struggling heroically with his foes. Turkey and Tartary felt the thrill of a like enthusiasm. London streets were illuminated at the news of Frederick's victories, while France ridiculed the generals of the Pompadour party and the mouths of Prussia's enemies were closed.

Upon the king himself this general enthusiasm, or such echoes of it as reached him, made but little impression. His outward coldness and reserve, and his apparent indifference to his reputation, increased with every year of war. Public calamities were followed by private sorrow. The day after the battle of Kolin his mother died; a few weeks after he dismissed his brother, Augustus William, from his command as incompetent, and in the following year he heard that this brother had fretted himself to death. Then came the death of his favourite sister, Wilhelmina of Bayreuth. His trusted generals fell in battle or proved unequal to the superhuman efforts which he imposed upon them. Yet in the few hours of leisure which he could secure, the king continued to correspond with Voltaire and Algarotti, the Italian scholar in whom he delighted, and to pour out streams of insipid French verse as a means of distracting his thoughts from his calamities. Characteristic is the following letter to Voltaire, one of the few autograph letters of the series which have been preserved; dated 9 September, 1757, it belongs to the weeks of despondency which were at length momentarily dispelled by the victory of Rossbach.

I am as self-possessed so far as you have ever seen me at Sanssouci. I have just been reading Zadig aloud to the Abbé, and I think that the strange concatenation of secondary events should not disturb the merit of a man who tells himself resolutely:

> Enough, I am a man and born to sorrow;
> With firmness I withstand the blows of fate.

At the same time I have no mind to condemn Cato or the Emperor Otho; the finest moment in the latter's life was the moment of his death. We must fight and die for our country if we can serve it; and if we cannot, to survive its overthrow would be disgrace.

I am in the position of a respectable citizen with a conspiracy against his life formed by Brinvilliers, Cartouche [famous murderers], and the Prince of Darkness. If poison fails, the sword must suffice.

If fortune turns her back upon me and I am destroyed, as present-day statesmen so earnestly desire, my overthrow will not provide you with the material for even a tragedy. This gloomy event will but swell the catalogue of malice and infidelity committed by the class of men and women who rule the civilized people of Europe in a century when any private citizen would

have been broken on the wheel for a hundredth part of the evil which these lords of earth commit unpunished.

I should say too much were I to write more. Farewell, you will soon hear good or bad news of me.

And he concludes with a quotation from Voltaire's *Merope*:

> Quant on a tout perdu, quant on n'a plus d'espoir,
> La vie est un opprobre, et la mort un devoir.

A whole series of letters to the Marquis d'Argens and other confidential friends is penetrated by a similar despondency. In June, 1757, he writes:

I find some relief from my sorrow in my daily work which has to be done and in the continual distraction provided by the number of my enemies. If I had fallen at Kolin I should now be in a haven where no storms can be feared. Next month will decide the fate of my poor country. I intend to save it or to perish with it.

Again in October, 1760:

Death is sweet in comparison with such a life. Pity my situation and believe me, I conceal many of my griefs to avoid disturbing and disquieting others. I regard death as with the eyes of a Stoic. I will never survive the moment which forces me to make a disadvantageous peace. No persuasions and no eloquence shall induce me to sign a treaty to my shame. I will be buried beneath the ruins of my country, or, if the fate which pursues me regards this consolation as too sweet, I will put an end to my sufferings as soon as they become intolerable. This sense of honour has been and shall henceforward be my guiding motive. I have sacrificed my youth to my father and my manhood to my country, and I think I have the right to dispose of the rest of my life as I will. Again I assert that my hand shall never sign a humiliating peace. In making certain observations upon the military talent of Charles XII, I did not consider the question whether he ought to have committed suicide or not. I think he had better have made away with himself after the capture of Stralsund; but his action forms no prescription for mine. There are people who can be taught by fortune, but I am not one of them. I am very indifferent to anything that people may say of me, and I assure you that I pay no attention to it. Henry IV was a younger son of a good house who made his fortune and he did not care. Why should he have hung himself in times of misfortune? Louis XIV was a great king with great resources and pulled through more or less badly. I have not his resources, but I value my honour more than he did, and as I have told you, I take no one for my rule in life. It is not an act of weakness but sound policy, to put an end to such unhappy days. I have lost all my friends and dearest relations, I am infinitely unfortunate and have nothing to hope for; my enemies regard me with scorn and contempt, and their pride is preparing to trample me under foot.

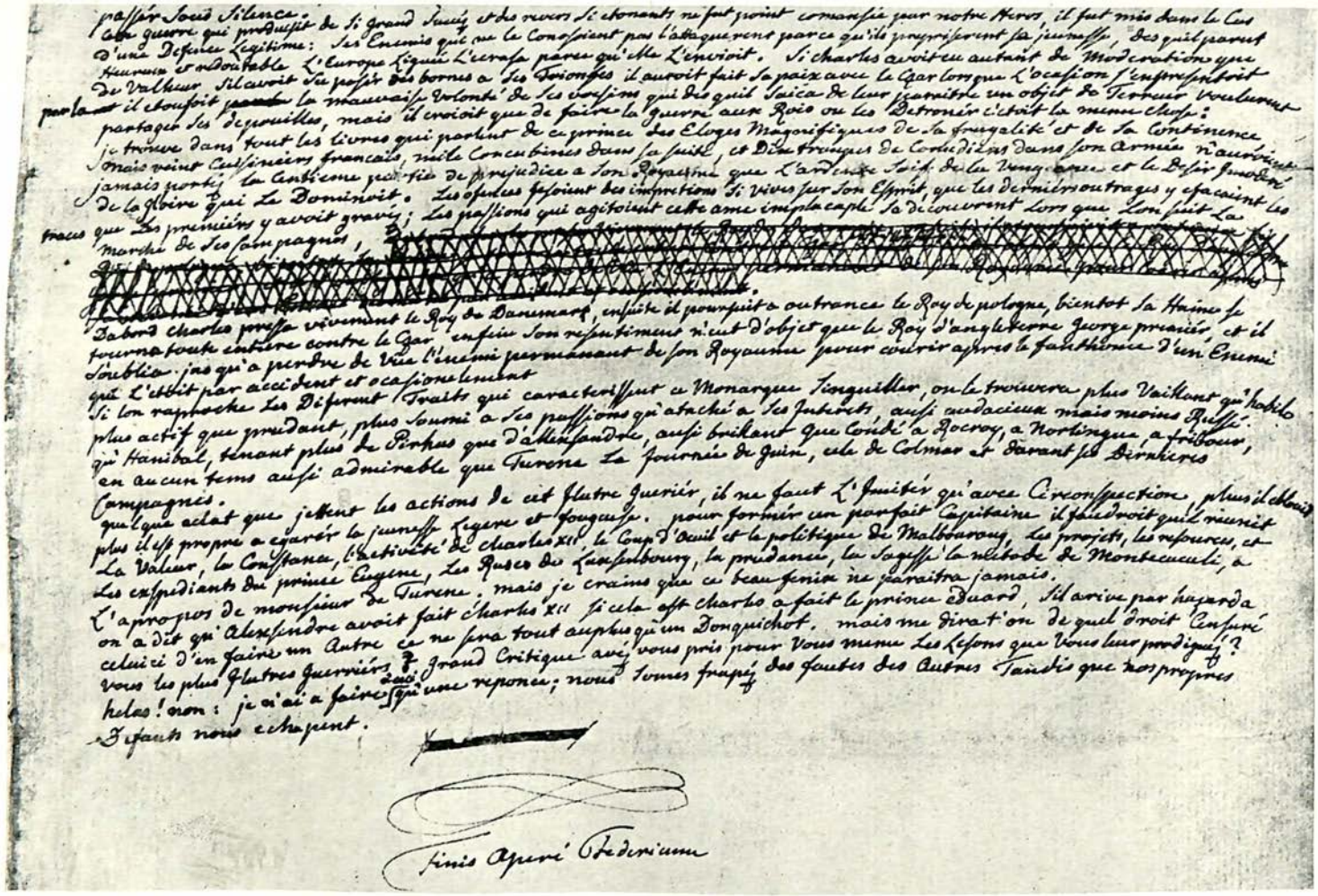
However, Frederick held out, and at length concluded the Peace

of Hubertsburg in 1763. Frederick retained Silesia, and this, as far as Prussia was concerned, was the most important article in the treaty. His enemies were as exhausted as himself. France, Spain, and Sweden were upon the verge of bankruptcy; Saxony had been drained by friends and foes alike. Cruel ravages had been committed by the French and Cossacks, who left a desert behind them wherever they went. In Hesse, Westphalia, and Pomerania villages had been reduced to heaps of ashes; the fields lay fallow for want of hands to till them. The Prussian states had suffered nearly as heavily; the savage marauders who accompanied the Prussian armies are said to have taken 30,000 lives, and in districts which had once been thickly populated and flourishing, only women remained for the work of agriculture. But all minds rejoiced at the thought that Frederick had secured peace with honour; the citizens of Berlin prepared to greet the king, upon his return, with illuminations and festivities, but he arrived late at his capital, and, weary of war and absence, avoided their well-meant greetings, and preferred the quiet welcome of his family. For the rest of his days he intended to live in peace and to work for the benefit of his people. For three-and-twenty years he had fought and struggled; for three-and-twenty more he was to guide his country peacefully towards prosperity. There was much to be done in order to meet the necessities of the moment. The corn which had been bought for the next campaign was distributed for seed; the artillery and baggage horses were sent back to the plough; taxes were remitted for two years in the case of the provinces which had suffered most severely. Advances were made from the king's private purse to help those who were burdened with debt, and to provide the capital required for starting new industries and manufactures. Between 1763 and 1786 Frederick advanced over 24,000,000 thalers in cash for such purposes, and this sum was no charge upon the state, but was drawn from his private resources. He lived very quietly; some 20,000 thalers covered the annual expenses of his household, and he was able to use the considerable surplus revenue for the benefit of the nation.

As he thus worked for Prussia, so he expected others to work for her. Freedom and toleration should abound, justice should be without respect of persons, and every citizen should be energetically occupied in the task of increasing the wealth and efficiency of the country. To increase production and make it profitable, to import as little as possible, to export as much as possible, was Frederick's ideal of political economy. Swamps were drained, canals were dug, towns were rebuilt, colonists were sent to the wilds of Pomerania and East Frisia; the Prussian Bank was founded in Berlin. Frederick knew that the chief reason for his survival of the Seven Years' War was the fact that he was generally better provided with money than his opponents, and he was thus impressed with the belief that a state to be strong must be rich. "Princes", he said, at this time, "must be like the spear of Achilles, and heal the wounds they make." Education was not forgotten: schools

were founded, attendance was made obligatory, and capable teachers were secured. The inhabitants had already felt the difference between the Prussian and Austrian Governments. Books were often prohibited at Vienna: Berlin did not restrict the circulation of lampoons even upon the king himself. Vienna regarded sinecure posts as most distinguished, and left the work of the departments they represented to subordinate officials in the country. Austria punished conversion from Roman Catholicism as a crime: under Prussia, men might be converted and lapse as often as they pleased. Austria regarded the business of administration as a nuisance: Prussia treated it as a science. Silesia responded to the change and became more flourishing than it ever had been under imperial rule. Frederick built many new villages, and helped towns to rebuild their streets upon a regular plan. Taxation may have been lighter under the imperial government, but it had been most unequally distributed. The nobles were exempt, the poor were overburdened, and the negligence or rapacity of the officials allowed but a small proportion of the revenue to flow into the king's treasury. Nobles who had formerly spent their incomes in Vienna or Breslau found themselves obliged to remain at home and work; local magnates who founded claims to idleness upon their rank were the special aversion of the king. Justice was formerly costly and corrupt: it was now cheap and impartial. The population was surprised by the regular devotion to duty which the civil servants of the new Government displayed.

Nine years after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Frederick extended his territory by the acquisition of a large district known henceforward as West Prussia. This he gained by the First Partition of Poland, which he carried out in conjunction with Catherine II of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria. From the point of view of political morality the partition was an act of sheer brigandage; but another European war was avoided by it, and the results to Prussia and Russia were highly advantageous. Poland was a congeries of states with no natural boundaries, with no strong central power, and in a chronic condition of feudal anarchy. Every noble was virtually a king, as by the *liberum veto* he could defeat any measure proposed in the Diet. The continual recurrence of feuds and intrigues made Poland a standing menace to the peace of her neighbours. During the Seven Years' War the central government was not strong enough to guarantee the neutrality of the country. On the other hand, the dismemberers of Poland constantly fostered this state of anarchy, and opposed the introduction of constitutional reforms which might have strengthened the state. The partition of Poland had been a project repeatedly mooted from the seventeenth century onwards. In 1662 John Casimir had prophesied precisely that event which now came to pass. In 1710 Frederick's grandfather had submitted a scheme for partition to Russia and Saxony. The present partition brought Russia into closer contact with Western civilization, and, in Catherine's phrase, Poland became the doormat upon which Russia stepped when entering the



FACSIMILE OF CONCLUDING PORTION OF ESSAY BY FREDERICK THE GREAT

The essay is in French, and deals with the military talents of Charles XII, King of Sweden. The document is holograph, and the writing, though minute, is quite distinct and can be read with comparative ease. The reproduction is very slightly reduced in scale. (*British Museum.*)

West. Frederick's view is given by himself in his *History of My Own Times.*

> This was one of the most important acquisitions which we could make, because it joined Pomerania and Eastern Prussia; as it rendered us masters of the Vistula we gained the double advantage of a defensible frontier to the kingdom and the power to levy considerable tolls on the Vistula, by which river the whole trade of Poland was carried on.

It must also be said that from early times the Vistula territories had been more or less definitely occupied by German colonists; originally populated by Slavs, Lithuanians, and Finns, German orders of knights and merchants and peasants had made their way into the district as early as the thirteenth century. Either bank of the river displayed memorials of their presence. The chief of these was the famous city of Dantzig, the Venice of the north. There was Elbing on the other arm of the Vistula, and upstream lay Marienburg, with the splendid castle of the German knights, whose tyranny had driven the many other settlements of the district into the arms of Poland during the fifteenth century. The Reformation gained a great ascendancy over the German colonists, and also made rapid progress in the Polish republic; but its advance was arrested by the work of the Jesuits, and when differences of belief were added to differences of language and race the resulting conflict became desperate and disastrous for the German immigrants. Religious wars and persecutions had destroyed the prosperity of the once flourishing district; no record exists to explain the details of this devastation; plague and famine may well have been added to political and religious discord. When the Prussian officials entered the country, towns were in ruins, villages deserted; in Kulm, thirty-eight of the forty houses round the marketplace were but bare walls without roofs, windows, or doors. In the country districts the peasants lived in miserable clay-plastered hovels; few villages preserved the luxury of an oven, and brandy was the only form of recreation known. Frederick devoted the greatest thought and care to the improvement of this miserably destitute acquisition. The land was redistributed and placed under the supervision of competent officials; craftsmen, artisans, manufacturers, schoolmasters, and colonists were sent into the country; marshes were drained; the Vistula was connected with the Oder and the Elbe by a great canal; the inhabitants were roused from their helpless and hopeless despondency, and West Prussia began a new life from which there has been no degeneration.

These activities left the king less time for intellectual pursuits. He wrote but little; he was growing old, and attacks of gout put an end to his flute playing. He wrote occasionally to Voltaire and d'Alembert until the death of the former in 1778; with the latter his correspondence long continued. So early as 1762 he had heard from Rousseau, when the latter was expelled by the Swiss states and sought refuge in Prussian territory. Frederick had not been greatly impressed by *Emile*, but, as he said to Earl Marischal, who preferred Rousseau's request, he

must help those in misfortune. Frederick paid less attention to French literature as he grew older, but he retained his conviction that German was not a literary language, and when he formed his academy the leading members were enthusiasts for French literature. Of his various prejudices this is certainly one of the most remarkable. Frederick, however, was inclined to judge literature rather by its form than its content: manner was more important in his eyes than matter, and in this respect French stood unrivalled. Frederick, partly in consequence of this prejudice, and partly for lack of time, had never made himself acquainted with the German literature of his own day; much of it was certainly modelled upon the masterpieces of France, though in Klopstock the age produced at least one original mind. In his old age the king produced a work entitled, *De la Litterature allemande*, which was published in 1780, and was suggested by a dispute with his minister, Ewald von Hertzberg, who had defended the claims of German as a literary language. As his canons of literary taste were entirely founded upon Voltaire, he was not likely to find much opportunity for praise of his subject. Lack of clarity and verbosity are the chief charges which he brought against German writers, and in the case of those he knew they were justified. But a critic who characterized Shakespeare's dramas as "ridiculous farces, fit for the Canadian backwoods", was too deeply immersed in the prejudices of French classicism to judge the literature of his own country with competence.

Throughout his life Frederick maintained his business-like regularity of habit unbroken. Even upon the day before his death he read the letters and dispatches which had come in. Reviews and tours of inspection were never missed. He lived a lonely life: a few servants attended to his simple needs, a few sentries watched Sanssouci by night, a groom followed him when he was abroad; but of court state or court life in the usual sense of the term there was nothing. A few friends were invited to his table from time to time, and these often included the heroes of the Seven Years' War: well known are Frederick's words when Zieten fell asleep at one of these meals, and others wished to wake him: "Let him sleep, he has watched often enough for us". In 1786 it was clear that the king had not long to live: he had complained to d'Alembert that his memory had begun to fail; a severe winter had greatly tried him; the last of his autograph letters is of an ominous tone. On 10 August, 1786, he wrote to his sister, the duchess of Brunswick: "The Hanover doctor has done his best to earn your thanks, but the fact remains that he has not been able to do me any good. The old must make room for the young, so that every generation may duly take its place; and if we consider what life really is, it is but to see one's fellow citizens dying and being born. However, I have been somewhat better for the last few days." But a week later, early in the morning, he breathed his last; with none but a few servants and the court doctor about him.

The news of his death was received with general stupefaction. His people had come to regard him as part of the established order of things,

as the guiding providence of the state, inexorable, omniscient, immutable. The news that his palace had been engulfed by an earthquake would have occasioned no greater amazement. The real achievement of his life did not become apparent until long after his death. He made Bismarck and German unity a possibility. Before Frederick's reign Austria was the only nucleus around which the smaller German states were inclined to cohere. Henceforward, if the Napoleonic period be left out of sight, the history of Germany is concerned with the rivalry of Prussia and Austria for pre-eminence and leadership. To this result Frederick contributed by an initial desire for self-aggrandizement, which became a desire for the welfare of his state. If in the pursuit of this object he sacrificed many lives, he also sacrificed himself.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

III. FROM THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE RISE OF PROTESTANTISM: A.D. 1507–1529

A.D.

1507. Macchiavelli in power at Florence.

Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, became Governor-general of Netherlands.

Louis XII took Genoa.

1508. Maximilian assumed at Trent the title of Roman Emperor Elect, without waiting for coronation at Rome.

League of Cambrai formed against Venice, comprising France, Empire, and the Pope Julius II.

Romance of *Amadis de Gaul* published.

Michelangelo and Raphael working at Rome for Julius II: CULMINATION OF RENAISSANCE ART.

1509. Spaniards under Cardinal Ximenes defeated Barbary pirates and took Oran.

Henry VIII King of England.

Battle of Agnadello: Venetians defeated by French.

Florence finally subdued Pisa.

Great earthquake in Constantinople.

Emperor Maximilian failed to take Padua.

1510. Venice reconciled to the Pope.

Albuquerque captured Goa in India for Portugal.

Erasmus began lecturing on Greek at Cambridge.

1511. Albuquerque took Malacca.

Holy League of Pope, Venice, and Spain: joined by Henry VIII.

1512. Selim I became Sultan.

Imperial Diet at Cologne: last reforming Diet.

A.D.

1512. *Battle of Ravenna*: Gaston de Foix victorious against Holy League but killed: artillery first decided a battle.

Holy League restored the Medici in Florence.

League between the Pope and the Emperor.

1513. Leo X (of Medici family) became Pope.

Franco-Venetian League renewed.

Maximilian allied with Henry VIII against France.

Battle of Novara: Swiss defeated French.

Battle of Guinegaste (or the Spurs): English defeated French.

Battle of Flodden: English victory over Scots: James IV killed; James V became King of Scotland.

Christian II King of Denmark.

Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean.

Macchiavelli's *The Prince*.

1514. *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* (Vol. I) published.

Greek New Testament of Erasmus.

1515. Francis I became King of France.

Charles, grandson of Maximilian, became Governor of the Netherlands.

Navarre incorporated with Castile.

Congress of Vienna: marriage treaties between Maximilian and Wladislav of Hungary.

Battle of Marignano: French defeated Swiss and recovered Milan.

Cardinal Wolsey became Lord Chancellor of England.

A.D.

1516. Church Concordat between Francis I and Leo X.

Death of Ferdinand the Catholic; Charles I (afterwards Emperor Charles V) became King of Castile, Aragon, &c.

Louis II became King of Hungary.

Barbarossa, the pirate leader, captured Algiers.

Treaty of Noyon: between France, Spain, and the Empire.

Everlasting League between Swiss and France.

The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More.

1517. Turks occupied Cairo and overthrew the Mamelukes: Turkish Sultan henceforth Caliph.

Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum (Second Volume), chiefly by Ulrich von Hutten.

Treaty of Rouen between Scotland and France.

MARTIN LUTHER PUBLISHED HIS THESES AT WITTENBERG.

1518. Melanchthon became Professor of Greek at Wittenberg.

Zwingli became People's Priest at Great Minster of Zürich.

1519. Death of Emperor Maximilian: Charles V elected King of the Romans.

Magellan started on voyage round the world.

1520. Suleiman the Magnificent became Sultan.

Luther excommunicated.

The Meaux Preachers pioneered the Reformation in France.

Field of the Cloth of Gold: interview between Henry VIII and Francis I.

Christian II of Denmark, having overthrown Sten Sture, crowned King of Sweden.

Stockholm Bath of Blood.

Cortes conquered Mexico.

1521. Luther at Diet of Worms: placed under the ban of the Empire.

Battle of Villalar: Spanish revolt crushed by Charles V.

Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, given the government of the Austrian Hapsburg dominions.

Treaty of Bruges: between Emperor Charles V and Henry VIII.

Milan occupied by the troops of Charles V and the Pope.

Turks captured Belgrade.

A.D.

1522. Adrian VI became Pope: last non-Italian Pope.

Henry VIII created Defender of the Faith for answering Luther.

Battle of the Bicocca (*near Milan*): French defeated by Imperialists and compelled to evacuate Lombardy: Francesco Sforza set up in Milan.

Turks conquered Rhodes.

Treaty of Windsor: between Charles V and Henry VIII.

The Knights' War: Franz von Sickingen, a German Lutheran knight, failed to capture Trier.

1523. First public disputation at Zürich.

Revolt against Christian II caused his flight from Denmark: Frederick I became King.

Franz von Sickingen defeated and killed.

Gustavus Vasa crowned King of Sweden (Gustavus I): Union of Kalmar ended.

Albert of Brandenburg, last Grand Master of Teutonic Order, became a Lutheran.

Duke of Suffolk invaded France.

French invasion of Lombardy (Bayard met his death).

Clement VII (of the Medici family) became Pope.

1524. Catholic Swiss League formed.

Beginning of Peasants' Revolt in Germany.

Invasion of France by Duke of Bourbon; failed to take Marseilles; pursued to Italy.

"Erection" of James V in Scotland.

Order of Theatines founded.

1525. Clement VII's agreement with Francis I.

BATTLE OF PAVIA: Francis I defeated by Charles V and made prisoner; hand firearms triumphant.

Lefèvre's French New Testament condemned to be burned.

Mass abolished at Zürich.

Massacre of Weinsberg by revolted German peasants: rebels crushed in several fights.

Peace between England and France.

Albert of Brandenburg made his dominions the hereditary Dukedom of Prussia.

1526. Treaty of Madrid between Charles V and Francis I: Francis set free.

Lutheran Alliance completed, with Landgrave Philip of Hesse as its moving spirit.

A.D.

1526. League of Cognac against Emperor by Francis I, Pope, Florence, Venice, &c.

Milan surrendered to the Imperialists.

Beginning of Danish breach with Rome.

Battle of Mohács: Hungary overthrown by the Turks: King Louis II drowned.

John Zapolya and Ferdinand of Austria both elected King of Hungary: Zapolya defeated by Ferdinand at *Tokay*.

Ferdinand elected King of Bohemia.

Order of Capuchins founded.

Battle of Panipat: Mohammedan conquest of India by Babar begun: Moghul Empire founded.

1527. Alliance between Henry VIII and Francis I.

Sack of Rome by Imperialist troops under Duke of Bourbon (who was killed).

Second expulsion of Medici from Florence.

Västeras Recess: beginning of official Swedish Reformation.

French under Lautrec invaded Italy.

1528. England and France declared war against the Empire.

A.D.

1528. Patrick Hamilton burned for heresy in Scotland.

Naples besieged by French and Genoese.

Genoese under Andrea Doria deserted French, captured Genoa, and established a Republic.

1529. Diet of Speier: Protest against its decisions by Lutheran Princes and cities: hence name of PROTESTANT.

Berquin burned for heresy in France.

Zürich declared war on Lucerne and Catholic allies: Peace of Kappel arranged.

Treaty of Barcelona: between Pope and Emperor.

Peace of Cambrai: between Francis I, Emperor, and England: France abandoned Italy, Flanders, and Artois; Malta and Tripoli to Knights of St. John.

Conference of Marburg between Luther and Zwingli: failure.

Unsuccessful siege of Vienna by Turks.

Henry VIII's divorce trial begun: transferred to Rome by the Pope.

Fall of Cardinal Wolsey.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION ORGANIZED: A.D. 1530–1559

1530. Compact between Charles V and Clement VII: Charles crowned Emperor by Pope at Bologna; the last to be crowned Emperor.

Diet of Augsburg: Melanchthon prepared the anti-Zwinglian CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

Tetrapolitana Confession (Zwinglian) prepared by cities of South Germany under influence of Bucer.

Florence surrendered to the Medici after a long siege.

Schmalkaldic League of Protestant German Princes formed.

The Grisons League obtained the Valtelline.

1531. *Battle of Kappel*: Catholic Swiss cantons victorious over Protestant: Zwingli killed.

Second Peace of Kappel between the two religious parties in Switzerland.

1532. "Submission of the Clergy" to Henry VIII in England.

Agreement of Nürnberg (Nuremberg): Protestants guaranteed peace till next Diet or General Council.

End of Florentine Republic: Alessandro de' Medici made Duke.

1532. Pizarro conquered Peru.

The *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto.

College of Justice founded by James V.

1533. Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Death of Frederick I of Denmark: disputed succession.

Anne Boleyn publicly named Queen of Henry VIII; Cranmer declared Catherine of Aragon's marriage null; Anne Boleyn crowned; Henry VIII excommunicated by Pope.

Treaty of Peace between Turkey and Austria.

Ivan IV (the Terrible) became Tsar.

1534. Anabaptist revolution in Münster under John of Leyden (soon suppressed).

Geneva adopted the Reformation.

First voyage of Jacques Cartier to Canada.

Revolution in Lübeck under Wullenwever.

Battle of Lauffen: Philip of Hesse, leader of the Schmalkaldic League, defeated Ferdinand's forces in Württemberg.

A.D.

1534. Barbarossa II captured Tunis.

Paul III became Pope.

The Paris Placards against the Mass: severe persecution.

Luther's German Bible completed.

Grevefeide or Count's War in Denmark.

1535. Barbarossa II defeated and Tunis taken by Emperor Charles along with Andrea Doria, Venice, Knights of Malta, &c.

Act of Supremacy in England: Henry Supreme Head of the English Church.

Execution of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More.

The English Bible of Miles Coverdale (first complete one).

Thomas Cromwell became Vicar-general for Henry VIII.

1536. Treaty between Francis I and Suleiman.

First Act for dissolution of monasteries in England.

Savoy conquered by French.

Calvin's *Institutes*.

Anne Boleyn beheaded; Jane Seymour proclaimed Queen of Henry VIII.

Concord of Wittenberg between Luther and Zwinglians.

Calvin at Geneva.

Imperialists invaded Provence, but repelled.

Christian III entered Copenhagen as King.

Pilgrimage of Grace in England under Aske.

William Tyndale burned for heresy in the Netherlands.

1537. Christian III took possession of Norway.

A Papal Commission reported on reform.

Suleiman devastated Corfu in his war with Venice.

End of Lübeck attempt at city-empire: Wullenwever put to death.

1538. Defensive League against the Turks between the Emperor, Pope, Ferdinand, and Venice.

Calvin expelled from Geneva.

Catholic League of Nürnberg.

Truce for ten years between Francis I, Charles V, and the Pope.

Suleiman annexed part of Moldavia.

Turkish fleet sailed against India: Yemen captured.

Naval fight in the *Ambracian Gulf*: Barbarossa defeated forces of Emperor, Pope, Venice, and Genoa.

1539. Act of the Six Articles against heresy in England.

Society of Jesus (Jesuits) founded by Ignatius Loyola.

1540. Charles V punished Ghent severely for rebellion.

Severe Edict of Fontainebleau against heresy.

Thomas Cromwell executed.

Peace between Venice and the Turks.

Jacques Cartier in the St. Lawrence.

1541. Religious Conference at Ratisbon: failure.

Suleiman virtually annexed Hungary.

De Soto discovered the Mississippi.

Henry VIII given the title of King of Ireland by the Irish Parliament.

Calvin finally settled in Geneva.

Failure of Spanish attack on Algiers.

1542. Roberval attempted to found a French colony in Canada.

French attack on Artois and Flanders.

Brunswick lands overrun by the Schmalkaldic League's forces.

Imperialist forces under Joachim of Brandenburg failed to take Pesth from the Turks.

Council of Trent opened.

Battle of Solway Moss: English defeated Scots.

Mary Stewart Queen of Scotland: Arran Regent.

Inquisition set up in Rome.

1543. Suleiman took Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, &c.

Death of Copernicus.

Vesalius, the great anatomist, published his chief work.

Barbarossa and the French fleet captured Nice city, but not the citadel.

Charles V victorious in his war against Duke William of Cleves.

1544. Edict calling upon all subjects in the hereditary Hapsburg lands to accept Confession of Louvain.

Battle of Ceresole: French defeated Spanish forces in Lombardy.

Earl of Hertford invaded Scotland: Edinburgh burned.

Boulogne taken by English.

Peace of Crépy: between Emperor, England, and France.

A.D.

1545. *Battle of Ancrum Moor*: Scottish victory.

Massacre of the Waldenses.

Brunswick territories appropriated by Schmalkaldic League.

Council of Trent again opened.

1546. Religious Conference at Ratisbon: futile.

Death of Luther.

George Wishart burned as a heretic in Scotland.

Cardinal Beaton murdered to avenge Wishart and St. Andrews Castle captured.

Diet of Ratisbon: Protestants repudiated Council of Trent and demanded a National Council.

Anne Askew tortured and burned for heresy in London.

Ban of the Empire against Philip of Hesse and the Elector John Frederick of Saxony.

Execution of the Fourteen of Meaux in France.

Ernestine Saxony invaded and occupied by Maurice of Albertine Saxony and Ferdinand; Elector John Frederick recovered his territory and invaded that of Maurice.

1547. Brittany united to the French kingdom.

Failure of revolt against Andrea Doria in Genoa.

Earl of Surrey executed for treason.

Edward VI became King of England: Earl of Hertford (created Duke of Somerset) became Protector of the realm.

Practically all South German cities subdued by Emperor Charles by this date; Duke Henry regained Brunswick; Catholicism re-established in Cologne.

Council of Trent removed to Bologna by the Pope.

Execution of Jaime de Enzines at Rome: first Italian death for heresy.

Henry II King of France.

Battle of Mühlberg: Charles V defeated Elector John Frederick and made him prisoner; the electoral dignity transferred to Maurice of Albertine Saxony.

Philip of Hesse surrendered to Charles V.

Capitulation of St. Andrews: John Knox a French galley-slave.

Inquisition established in Portugal.

Battle of Pinkie: Somerset's victory over the Scots.

Chambre Ardente created in France.

A.D.

1547. Somerset repealed the English laws against heresy.

English replaced Latin in English Church services.

1548. Suleiman victorious against Persia.

Sigismund II (Augustus) King of Poland.

The Bohemian Brethren, expelled from Bohemia, settled in Poland.

Interim religious compromise drawn up by a committee chosen by Charles V and proclaimed as an Edict.

Mary Queen of Scots landed in France.

1549. First Book of Common Prayer sanctioned by Parliament.

First Act of Uniformity.

Somerset as social reformer: Enclosures Commission appointed.

Ket's rebellion in eastern England suppressed.

France declared war against England.

Fall of Somerset: Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) in power.

Parliament declared enclosures legal.

Du Bellay's *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Française.*

1550. Julius III became Pope.

Persecution of Catholics and heretics in England.

Peace between France and England: Boulogne given back to France.

Dragut the corsair defeated by Charles and headquarters in Tunisia taken.

Severe placard against heresy in the Netherlands.

1551. Council of Trent resumed at Trent.

Turks captured Tripoli from Knights of St. John.

Turco-Hungarian war renewed after a truce.

Magdeburg capitulated to the Elector Maurice.

1552. Somerset executed.

Treaty of Chambord between Henry II and the Protestant German Princes.

French invaded and occupied Lorraine.

Council of Trent suspended.

Charles V's flight from Maurice of Saxony across the Brenner Pass.

Treaty of Passau: Protestant position secured.

Second Act of Uniformity in England.

Second Book of Common Prayer.

Kazan annexed by Ivan IV.

A.D.

1553. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor set out in search of north-east passage: former lost: latter found White Sea.

Death of Edward VI: Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen by Northumberland; Mary Tudor also proclaimed; Northumberland executed and Mary victorious.

Battle of Sievershausen: Elector Maurice defeated Albert Margrave of Brandenburg, but killed.

Battle of Steterburg: Albert of Brandenburg defeated by Duke Henry of Brunswick.

Death of Rabelais.

Michael Servetus, an anti-Trinitarian, burned for heresy in Geneva by Calvin.

1554. Sir Thomas Wyatt led a rebellion in Kent.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband; also of Suffolk and Wyatt.

Mary of Lorraine Regent of Scotland.

Battle of Schwarzach: Albert of Brandenburg defeated by Duke Henry of Brunswick and driven as a fugitive to France.

Mary Tudor married Philip, heir of Charles V.

Cardinal Pole arrived in England: Parliament decided in favour of returning to the old religion.

Astrakhan annexed by Ivan IV.

1555. John Rogers burned for heresy in England; many others followed.

Marcellus II became Pope; died a few months later; Paul IV succeeded; Counter-reformation in the Papal chair.

Vaudois became Calvinists.

Union of Bohemian Brethren and Calvinists in Poland.

Latimer and Ridley burned in England.

RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG: *Cujus regio, ejus religio.*

Charles V abdicated sovereignty of Netherlands at Brussels: Philip II succeeded.

A.D.

1556. Charles V abdicated sovereignty in Spain and Italy: Ferdinand I Emperor.

Peace of Vaucelles between Philip and France.

Death of Nicholas Udall, author of the comedy *Ralph Roister Doister.*

Cranmer burned.

Battle of Panipat (second): Moghul conquest of India made secure.

Akbar became Moghul Emperor in India.

1557. War declared between England and France.

Battle of St. Quentin: French defeated by Spanish under Duke of Savoy and Egmont.

Colloquy of Worms: no result.

First Bond of Lords of the Congregation: organization of Scottish Protestantism.

Livonia conquered by Ivan IV.

1558. English expelled from Calais.

Mary Queen of Scots married the French Dauphin Francis.

Battle of Gravelines: Egmont again defeated the French.

Deaths of Mary Tudor and Cardinal Pole; Elizabeth Queen of England.

1559. Death of Christian III of Denmark: Frederick II succeeded.

Colloquy of Westminster.

TREATY OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS: a European settlement between the Empire, France, and England.

Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in England.

John Knox returned to Scotland.

Auto-da-fé at Valladolid: first one against heresy.

Francis II King of France.

First Papal Index of Prohibited Books: great opposition.

Pius IV Pope.

Philip left the Netherlands: Margaret of Parma Regent.

THE WARS OF RELIGION: A.D. 1560–1593

1560. Treaty of Berwick between Duke of Norfolk and the Scottish Lords of the Congregation.

Tumult of Amboise.

Elizabeth sent Lord Grey with an army to help the Scottish Lords of the Congregation.

1560. Death of Mary of Lorraine, the Scottish Regent.

Treaty of Edinburgh: French forces to quit Scotland.

A Scottish Parliament abolished Popery in Scotland.

A.D.

1560. Death of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden: succeeded by Erik XIV.

Charles IX King of France.

First Book of Discipline in Scottish Church.

Tragedy of *Gorboduc* by Sackville and Norton.

1561. Abortive Protestant Conference at Naumburg: Lutherans and Calvinists irreconcilable.

Vaudois rebellion suppressed by Savoy.

Reval became Swedish.

Mary Queen of Scots landed in Scotland.

The Colloquy of Poissy: a kind of French National Church Council.

Teutonic Order submitted to Poland.

1562. Edict of January: first legal recognition of Protestantism in France.

Council of Trent resumed at Trent.

Massacre of Vassy: FIRST WAR OF RELIGION in France began.

HUGUENOTS took Orleans.

Treaty of Hampton Court between Elizabeth and the Prince of Condé.

Treaty of Prague between Emperor Ferdinand and Suleiman the Magnificent.

English force landed to help the Huguenots in France: Havre occupied.

French Royalists occupied Rouen.

Battle of Corrichie: Earl of Huntly defeated by Moray and killed.

Battle of Dreux: indecisive Royalist victory in France.

Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy obtained Turin and made it his capital.

1563. Duke of Guise murdered in a suburb of Orleans.

Edict of Amboise ended First War of Religion.

Swedes defeated Danes off Bornholm.

Havre evacuated by the English.

NORTHERN SEVEN YEARS' WAR declared by Denmark.

Charles IX declared of age in France.

End of Council of Trent: THE COUNTER-REFORMATION COMPLETE.

1564. Papal Decree confirming decrees of Council of Trent.

Tridentine Index of Prohibited Books.

Cardinal Granvelle recalled from the Netherlands.

Treaty of Troyes between France and England.

A.D.

1564. Death of Calvin.

Maximilian II became Emperor.

Philip ordered decrees of Trent to be enforced in the Netherlands.

Anti-Trinitarians in Poland.

Calvinism established in Palatinate by the Elector Frederick III.

Treaty of Lausanne adjusted boundaries between Berne and Savoy.

1565. Failure of Turkish attack on Malta.

Bayonne Conference between France and Spain.

Mary Queen of Scots married Darnley: Moray fled to England.

Trent Decrees and Placards against heresy began to be enforced in Netherlands.

Revival of Catholicism in Poland.

First punishments of Puritans in England.

1566. "The Compromise" signed by many Netherland nobles, pledging them to oppose the Inquisition, &c.

Murder of Riccio.

"The Request" presented to a Netherlands Assembly by Lewis of Nassau and Brederode, embodying the principles of the "Compromise".

The Culemburg Banquet in Brussels: *Vivent les Gueux* first heard.

Iconoclastic outbreaks in the Netherlands.

Conference at Dendermonde between William the Silent, Lewis of Nassau, Egmont, Horn, &c.; Egmont and Horn not prepared to resist Philip.

Death of Suleiman the Magnificent in Hungary: Selim II succeeded as Sultan.

1567. Murder of Darnley.

Rout of John de Marnix at *Austruweel*.

Valenciennes taken by Royal forces.

William of Orange went into exile.

Mary Queen of Scots married Bothwell.

Shane O'Neill defeated and killed in Ireland.

Murder of the Sture by Erik XIV of Sweden.

Mary Queen of Scots taken prisoner at Carberry Hill, imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, and compelled to abdicate.

Arrest of Egmont and Horn after Alva had arrived in Netherlands as Captain-General; Council of Troubles (or of Blood) created; Alva became Regent and Governor-General.

A.D.

1567. Enterprise of Meaux.

John Casimir, second son of Elector Palatine Frederick, led a force into France to help the Huguenots.

Battle of Saint-Denis between Huguenots and Catholics: indecisive.

Scottish Parliament declared Mary guilty of murder and to have forfeited the crown: James VI King of Scotland.

1568. William of Orange proclaimed an outlaw.

La Rochelle opened its gates to the Huguenots.

Condé raised the siege of Orleans.

Peace between the Emperor and the Turks.

Peace of Longjumeau ended the Second War of Religion in France.

Mary escaped from Lochleven: defeated by Moray at *Langside*; fled to England.

Battle of Heiligerlee: Lewis of Nassau defeated Spanish.

Execution of Egmont and Horn.

Revolt of Moriscos in Granada: suppressed with great slaughter.

Douay College founded by Father Allen.

1569. Erik XIV deposed by Swedish Diet: John III became King.

Spanish treasure ships seized at Falmouth and Southampton.

States-General summoned at Brussels: Alva failed to get all his taxes.

Beggars of the Sea first appeared.

Battle of Jarnac: Huguenots routed: Condé captured and shot dead.

Union of Lublin: Poland and Lithuania incorporated.

Cosimo de' Medici created Grand Duke of Tuscany by the Pope.

Battle of Moncontour: Huguenot defeat.

1570. Assassination of Regent Moray; Lennox became Regent of Scotland.

Peace of Saint-Germain ended Third War of Religion: La Rochelle became Huguenot headquarters.

Consensus of Sadomir: Union of Bohemian Brethren, Lutherans, and Calvinists in Poland.

Queen Elizabeth declared deposed by Pope.

Northern Seven Years' War ended by Peace of Stettin.

1571. Triple Alliance of Spain, Venice, and Pope against Turks.

A.D.

1571. Turks landed in Cyprus.

Beggars of the Sea forbidden to use English ports.

Ridolfi conspiracy discovered by Cecil.

Thirty-nine Articles enacted.

Beginning of penal legislation against Catholics in England.

Battle of Lepanto: Don John of Austria gained great naval victory over Turks.

Regent Lennox murdered in Scotland: Earl of Mar Regent.

Khan of Crimea invaded Russia and burned Moscow.

1572. Death of Sigismund II of Poland.

Beggars of the Sea captured Brill; also Flushing, &c.

Defensive alliance between France and England.

Lewis of Nassau invaded the Netherlands from France; took Valenciennes and Mons.

Edict of Rochelle ended Fourth War of Religion.

William the Silent invaded Netherlands from the East: took Roermond: Brussels shut against him.

States of Holland at Dort recognized William the Silent as Stadtholder.

Henry of Bourbon became King of Navarre.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Admiral Coligny murdered.

Alva recovered Mons.

Death of Regent Mar in Scotland: Morton succeeded.

Sack of Malines, Zutphen, and Naarden by Spanish troops.

Siege of Haarlem begun by Don Frederick of Toledo.

1573. Compact of Warsaw secured absolute religious liberty in Poland.

Pacification of Perth.

Edinburgh Castle surrendered by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington.

Venice ceded Cyprus to Turks.

Duke of Anjou elected King of Poland.

Surrender of Haarlem.

Siege of Alkmaar: dykes cut: siege raised.

Battle of Enckhuysen: Spanish fleet defeated by Dutch.

William the Silent declared himself a Calvinist.

A.D.

1573. Alva recalled from Netherlands: Don Luis Requesens succeeded.

1574. Huguenot rising began Fifth War of Religion.

Battle of Bergen: Dutch naval victory.

Spaniards surrendered Middelburg.

Battle of Mookerheide: Lewis of Nassau killed.

Plot of Vincennes.

Henry III King of France.

Flight of Anjou from Poland.

Relief of Leyden after long siege.

The *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso.

Murad III became Sultan.

1575. Anjou declared deposed in Poland: Maximilian II elected by Senate, Stephen Bathory by Diet; latter victorious.

Escape of Monsieur to join Huguenots.

Battle of Dormans: Huguenot defeat.

John Casimir again in France.

1576. Henry of Navarre escaped to the Huguenots and abjured Catholicism.

Death of Requesens: Don John of Austria Governor of Netherlands.

Union of Holland and Zeeland completed.

Edict of Beaulieu ended Fifth War of Religion (Peace of Monsieur).

Rudolph II Emperor.

The League formed by French Catholics.

Pacification of Ghent.

Revolt of Spanish troops in Netherlands: great excesses; Sack of Antwerp and "Spanish Fury".

1577. French King repudiated Edict of Beaulieu: Sixth War of Religion begun.

Union of Brussels.

"Perpetual Edict": agreement between Netherlands and Don John of Austria.

Don John seized Namur.

Peace of Bergerac: Edict of Poitiers: End of Sixth War of Religion.

William the Silent entered Brussels.

Drake's voyage round the world began.

1578. State Entry of Archduke Matthias into Brussels as Governor, with William the Silent as Lieutenant-General.

Battle of Gemblours: Alexander of Parma's victory.

A.D.

1578. Duke of Anjou accepted title of "Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands".

Battle of Alcazar-Kebir: King Sebastian of Portugal killed in Morocco; Henry succeeded.

Battle of Verden: Poles and Swedes defeated Russians.

Alexander of Parma became Governor of Netherlands.

Morton resigned the Regency in Scotland, but afterwards took possession of the king.

Fausto Sozzini (Socinius) in Transylvania and Poland.

1579. League of Arras for protection of Catholic religion in Hainault, Douay, and Artois.

UNION OF UTRECHT: Dutch republic formed.

The *Shepherd's Calendar* of Edmund Spenser.

The *Euphues* of John Lyly.

1580. Philip of Spain obtained Portuguese crown on death of King Henry.

Seventh War of Religion began; ended in same year by Peace of Fleix.

Parsons and Campion, Jesuit priests, came to England.

First collection of the *Essays* of Montaigne.

Charles Emmanuel succeeded Emmanuel Philibert as Duke of Savoy.

1581. Philip put a price on the head of William the Silent.

Morton put to death in Scotland.

William the Silent provisionally accepted the title of Count of Holland.

Philip II abjured by Brabant, Flanders, Utrecht, Gelderland, Holland, and Zeeland.

Poles and Swedes took Narva.

Battle of Terceira: naval victory of Santa Cruz over Don Antonio.

The *Apology* of William the Silent.

Second Book of Discipline in Scotland.

1582. Peace between Poland and Russia: former gained Livonia, &c.

Anjou inaugurated at Antwerp as Duke of Brabant.

Pope Gregory XIII introduced new style in dating by Bull.

Anjou accepted as Lord of Friesland, Duke of Gelderland, and Count of Flanders.

Raid of Ruthven: James VI of Scotland a prisoner (till June, 1583).

A.D.

1582. Death of George Buchanan, Scottish scholar and historian.

1583. "French Fury" at Antwerp.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to found a colony in Newfoundland.

Truce of Pliusa between Russia and Sweden.

Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury to suppress Puritanism.

Execution of the rebel Earl of Desmond.

William the Silent accepted the hereditary Countship of Holland and Zeeland.

1584. Death of Anjou.

William the Silent assassinated at Delft by Gérard.

Association formed to protect Elizabeth.

Episcopacy established in Scottish Church by James VI.

Death of Ivan IV: succeeded by Theodore I, with Boris Godunoff as real ruler of Russia.

1585. Treaty of Joinville against Henry of Navarre between Spain and the Catholic League.

Sixtus V became Pope.

Treaty of Nemours between Henry III and the Catholic League: latter victorious: Eighth War of Religion (War of the Three Henrys) followed.

Papal Bull against Henry of Navarre and Condé.

Drake commissioned for reprisals in West Indies.

English Act against Jesuits, seminary priests, &c.

Earl of Leicester landed in Holland with a force.

1586. Leicester made Governor-General of United Provinces.

Death of Sir Philip Sidney.

Babington's Catholic plot exposed by Walsingham.

Alliance between Elizabeth and James VI for defence of Protestantism.

1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

Drake's expedition to Cadiz to delay sailing of Spanish Armada.

Alexander of Parma captured Sluys.

Leicester left Holland.

Sigismund, son of John III of Sweden, elected King of Poland.

Battle of Coutras: victory of Henry of Navarre.

A.D.

1588. Duke of Guise entered Paris: Henry III fled.

SPANISH ARMADA set sail from Lisbon (20th May); defeated on 29th July.

Guise murdered in Henry III's antechamber; his brother, the Cardinal, put to death; other Leaguers arrested.

Martin Marprelate tracts began: attacks on bishops.

Christian IV King of Denmark.

1589. Duke of Aumale declared lieutenant-general of France; occupied Paris.

Truce between Henry III and Henry of Navarre.

Failure of Drake's expedition against Portugal.

Henry III assassinated: Henry of Navarre became King as Henry IV; BEGINNING OF BOURBON DYNASTY.

Battle of Arques: Henry IV victorious.

Galileo made his experiments on falling bodies at leaning tower of Pisa.

1590. Dutch captured Breda.

Battle of Ivry: Henry IV triumphant.

Savoyard forces invaded Provence: Duke of Savoy entered Aix.

1591. Torgau Alliance of Protestant princes to aid Henry IV.

Henry IV excommunicated by the Pope.

Dutch under Maurice and William Lewis of Nassau took Zutphen; then Deventer and Nimeguen.

Murder of Tsarevitch Dimitri in Russia.

Francis Vieta of Paris founded modern algebra.

1592. Clement VIII Pope.

Death of Alexander of Parma: Archduke Ernest succeeded in Netherlands.

Sigismund King of Poland became King of Sweden also: Charles Regent of Sweden.

Presbyterianism fully established in Scotland.

1593. Upsala Council: Swedish Reformation.

Maurice of Nassau took Geertruidenburg.

Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism: "*Paris vaut une messe*".

Anti-Puritan Statute in England: many fled to Holland.

English Acts against Popish recusants.

Death of Christopher Marlowe.

THE AGE OF SHAKESPEARE: A.D. 1594–1617

A.D.

1594. French invaded Savoy.

Maurice of Nassau took Groningen.

Henry IV entered Paris.

Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* and *Titus Andronicus*: earliest of his plays.

1595. Henry IV declared war on Spain.

Death of Archduke Ernest, Governor of Netherlands.

Peace of Teusin between Sweden and Russia.

Battle of Groenloo: Maurice of Nassau's victory.

Henry IV absolved by the Pope.

Peasant Insurrection in Upper Austria.

1596. Archduke Albert made Governor of Netherlands.

Archduke Albert captured Calais.

Henry IV took La Fère.

Triple Alliance between England, France, and United Provinces.

English expedition to Cadiz: Cadiz captured.

Mohammed III defeated Archduke Maximilian in a three days' battle.

Sir Robert Cecil became Secretary of State.

The *Faerie Queene* of Edmund Spenser.

1597. *Battle of Turnhout*: Maurice of Nassau's victory.

Spaniards took Amiens (soon recovered).

Polish suzerainty over Moldavia recognized by Sultan.

Sully became Finance Minister of France.

Serfdom introduced in Russia.

The *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker.

1598. EDICT OF NANTES: Protestant liberties secured in France.

Netherlands erected by Philip II into a sovereign state under Archduke Albert; Albert married Philip's daughter Isobel.

Peace of Vervins between France and Spain.

Philip III became King of Spain.

Battle of Stangebro: Charles of Sweden defeated Sigismund.

Death of Theodore I: Boris Godunoff became Tsar.

1599. Earl of Essex became Lord Deputy of Ireland: disgraced on his return.

A.D.

1599. Sigismund deposed in Sweden: Charles IX became King.

Sweden conquered Finland.

1600. Giordano Bruno, heretical philosopher, burned.

Esthonia sought the protection of Charles IX.

Battle of Nieuport: Maurice of Nassau's desperate victory.

Charles IX invaded Livonia.

Gowrie Conspiracy in Scotland.

East India Company founded in England.

Dr. William Gilbert published his pioneer work on magnetism.

1601. Valladolid became capital of Spain (till 1606).

Rebellion and execution of Essex.

Treaty of Lyons between France and Savoy: Savoy kept Saluzzo, but ceded other territory.

Dutch East India Company founded.

Siege of Ostend begun by Spinola (surrendered 1604).

Poland reconquered Livonia.

Great English Poor Law Act passed.

Spanish invasion of Ireland.

1602. *Battle of Kinsale*: Spaniards and Irish rebels defeated.

Execution of Marshal Biron.

Treaty between France and the Grisons regarding the Valtelline.

Arminius became a professor at Leyden: rivalry with Gomarus.

Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

Savoy failed to take Geneva.

1603. Death of Elizabeth: James VI of Scotland became James I of England: UNION OF THE CROWNS.

Earl of Tyrone submitted: Ireland conquered.

The False Dimitri appeared in Poland to claim Tsardom.

1604. Hampton Court Conference failed to reach agreement between Puritans and High Churchmen.

Maurice of Nassau took Sluys.

Peace between England, Spain, and the Netherlands.

The False Dimitri invaded Russia.

1605. Paul V became Pope.

A.D.

1605. The False Dimitri accepted as Tsar on death of Boris.

Battle of Kirkholm: Poles defeated Charles IX of Sweden.

Gunpowder Plot discovered in England.

Don Quixote by Cervantes.

1606. Treaty of Venice between the Austrian Archdukes: Archduke Matthias became head of House of Austria.

Venice under Papal interdict.

The False Dimitri killed: Vasili Shuiski became Tsar.

Peace of Zsitva-Torok between Empire and Turks: Imperial tribute to Turks abolished.

Grand Remonstrance of Sandomir against Sigismund of Poland: its supporters suppressed.

1607. *Battle of Gibraltar*: Heemskerk annihilated Spanish fleet.

Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel left Ireland for ever with their families.

London Company colonized Virginia.

Swedish power began to be restored in Esthonia.

1608. Alliance of Pressburg: Hungarian and Austrian Estates united against Emperor Rudolph.

Evangelical Union formed by German Protestant Princes, headed by Christian of Anhalt.

Emperor Rudolph ceded Hungarian crown and territorial dominion in Austria and Moravia to Archduke Matthias.

Quebec founded by French under Champlain.

1609. Alliance between Charles IX and Tsar against Poland.

Death of Duke John William of Jülich and Cleves: a disputed succession.

Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and Holland: Spain conceded freedom of Indian trade.

Rudolph's Letter of Majesty in Bohemia.

Catholic Union (or League) formed at Munich under Maximilian of Bavaria.

Edict against the Moriscos in Spain.

Barbary Corsairs defeated at Tunis by Spain and France.

The *Mare Liberum* of Hugo Grotius.

Kepler began publishing his astronomical laws.

Galileo invented the telescope about this time.

1610. James I and VI dissolved his first Parliament: constitutional struggle begun.

A.D.

1610. Assassination of Henry IV of France: succeeded by Louis XIII.

Battle of Klutsjino: Russians defeated by Poles and Tsar overthrown: Wladislav, son of Sigismund of Poland, crowned Tsar.

Plantation of Ulster began.

Maurice of Nassau took Jülich.

Frederick V became Elector Palatine.

Dutch brought tea to Europe (from China) for first time.

1611. War of Kalmar between Denmark and Sweden begun.

Matthias crowned King of Bohemia and Emperor Rudolph resigned Bohemian crown.

Order of Baronets created.

Gustavus Adolphus became King of Sweden: Oxenstierna his chief statesman.

The Authorized Version of the Bible.

1612. Death of Emperor Rudolph II: Matthias elected Emperor.

Evangelical Union of Princes concluded treaty with England.

Turks recovered Moldavia.

James VI established Episcopacy in Scotland.

English factory founded at Surat in India.

1613. Peace of Knäred ended the War of Kalmar.

Michael Romanoff became Tsar: Romanoff dynasty began.

Frederick V, Elector Palatine, married Elizabeth, daughter of James I and VI.

1614. Last meeting of French States-General till 1789.

Alliance between Sweden and United Provinces.

Jülich and Cleves divided between the two claimants by Treaty of Xanten.

Addled Parliament in England.

Napier of Merchiston introduced logarithms.

1615. Treaty between Empire and Turks.

Sir Thomas Roe became resident English ambassador at court of Great Mogul in India.

The Spanish Marriages: double alliance of French and Spanish royal families.

Charles Emmanuel of Savoy defeated in Lombardy by Spanish viceroy.

First newspaper (a German one) appeared.

Dutch destroyed Spanish fleet in East

A.D.

Indies and gained command of Moluccas.

1616. Edict of Inquisition against Galileo.

Death of WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Fall of Somerset: Buckingham in power.

Cardinal Richelieu became Foreign and War Minister.

Dutch brought coffee to Europe (from Mocha) for first time.

1617. Peace of Stolbova between Sweden and Russia: Russia renounced Esthonia and Livonia; Sweden surrendered Novgorod.

1617. Richelieu out of office: Luynes in power.

Ferdinand of Styria crowned King of Bohemia.

Peace of Madrid between Austria and Venice.

Treaty of Pavia between Savoy and Spain relating to Lombardy.

War between Sweden and Poland.

Briggs introduced the decimal notation.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR: A.D. 1618–1648

1618. Ferdinand of Styria proclaimed King of Hungary.

Bohemian Protestants set up a provisional government.

Failure of Osuna's conspiracy against Venice.

Fall of Cardinal Klesl.

DUKEDOM OF PRUSSIA ADDED TO ELECTORATE OF BRANDENBURG.

The Five Articles of Perth accepted by a pseudo-General Assembly.

Sir Walter Ralegh executed.

Synod of Dort: the Arminian Remonstrants crushed in the United Provinces.

1619. Death of the Emperor Matthias: Ferdinand II elected.

Batavia founded as capital of Dutch East Indies.

Execution of Oldenbarneveldt, the Dutch statesman.

George William became Elector of Brandenburg.

Emperor Ferdinand declared deposed from Bohemian throne, and Elector Palatine Frederick V elected King of Bohemia.

Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, in alliance with Bohemians, occupied most of Upper Hungary.

Agreement between Emperor Ferdinand and Maximilian of Bavaria.

Slavery introduced in Virginia.

1620. Frederick V ordered to quit the Emperor's dominions.

Massacre of Protestants in the Valtelline.

Tilly, the general of the Catholic League, entered Upper Austria.

Spinola invaded the Palatinate.

Battle of the White Hill: Tilly defeated Christian of Anhalt and Thurn: Prague taken.

1620. *Battle of Cécora*: Poles heavily defeated by Turks when attempting to recover Moldavia.

Huguenots formulated their demands at La Rochelle: war followed.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS set sail for New England.

The *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon.

1621. Philip IV became King of Spain, with Olivarez as chief minister.

Treaty of Madrid between Spain and France: the Valtelline restored to Grisons.

Evangelical Union of Princes dissolved.

Riga taken by the Swedes.

End of Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and United Provinces.

English Parliament attacked monopolies; dissolved after Protestation of its Rights.

Five Articles of Perth passed by Scottish Parliament.

Fall of Francis Bacon.

Dutch West India Company founded.

1622. Articles of Milan: Grisons renounced the Valtelline.

Battle of Wimpfen: Tilly victorious.

Battle of Höchst: Tilly defeated Christian of Halberstadt.

Tilly took Heidelberg.

Battle of Fleurus: victory of Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt.

Treaty of Lindau: Austrian supremacy in the Valtelline strengthened.

First English newspaper appeared.

Treaty of Montpellier between Louis XIII and Huguenots.

1623. Ratisbon Conference: Maximilian got Frederick's electoral dignity.

A.D.

1623. Treaty of Paris: France, Venice, and Savoy united to restore Valtelline.

Prince Charles and Buckingham in Madrid.

Expulsion of Protestant clergy from Bohemia.

Battle of Stadtlohn: Tilly defeated Christian of Halberstadt.

Dutch conquered Formosa.

1624. Monopoly Act in England: patents protected.

Dutch took Bahia in Brazil from Portugal (soon recovered).

Richelieu became Chief Minister of France.

Massacre of Amboina.

Protestants deprived of all rights in Bohemia.

French occupied the Valtelline.

Death of Jakob Böhme, the mystic.

1625. Mansfeld's expedition set out.

Huguenots seized Blavet and the Royal ships.

Charles I King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Frederick Henry Prince of Orange.

Wallenstein became Imperialist commander-in-chief: entered Lower Saxony.

Parliament gave Charles I tonnage and poundage for one year only.

Spinola took Breda.

Montmorency seized islands of Ré and Oléron.

Treaty of Southampton: between England and the United Provinces.

Swedes overran Livonia.

Failure of English expedition to Cadiz.

Triple Alliance between England, Denmark, and Holland.

French colony of Cayenne founded; French also colonized St. Kitts.

1626. *Battle of Wallhof*: victory of Gustavus Adolphus over the Poles.

English Treaty with Huguenots.

Battle of Dessau Bridge: Wallenstein defeated Mansfeld.

Treaty of Monzon between France and Spain regarding the Valtelline.

Impeachment of Buckingham.

Swedish invasion of Prussia.

Tilly took Göttingen.

Battle of Lutter: Tilly defeated Christian IV of Denmark.

A.D.

1626. Forced loan in England; Sir John Eliot and others imprisoned.

Peace of Pressburg between Wallenstein and Bethlen Gabor.

English settlement of Barbados.

1627. War between England and France.

Treaty of Alliance between France and Spain.

Buckingham's expedition to La Rochelle in aid of Huguenots.

Wallenstein occupied Schleswig and Jutland.

Disputed succession in Mantua.

1628. Treaty between Sweden and Denmark.

Unsuccessful siege of Stralsund by Imperialist troops under Arnim.

PETITION OF RIGHT passed by Parliament and received Royal Assent.

Murder of Buckingham.

Hein, Dutch naval leader, captured Spanish treasure fleet.

Capitulation of La Rochelle: final failure of the Huguenot cause.

Harvey on the *Circulation of the Blood*.

1629. Charles I dissolved his Third Parliament and began eleven years of arbitrary government.

French invasion of Italy in support of Duke of Nevers' claim to Mantua.

Edict of Restitution in Germany.

Peace between England and France.

Peace of Lübeck between Wallenstein and Denmark.

Frederick Henry of Orange reduced Bois-le-Duc.

Truce between Sweden and Poland for six years: Sweden gained Livonia, &c.

Spinola at war in Lombardy.

1630. Dutch took Pernambuco.

French invasion of Savoy: Death of Charles Emmanuel.

Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany: conquered Pomerania.

Mantua and Casale captured by Spain.

Dismissal of Wallenstein.

Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain.

1631. Treaty of Bärwalde between France and Sweden.

Protestant Convention at Leipzig.

Gustavus Adolphus took Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

Spain's ignominious peace with France.

A.D.

1631. Fall of Magdeburg to Imperialists: terrible sack.

Battle of the Slaak: Dutch destroyed Spanish fleet.

Alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and John George of Saxony.

Battle of Breitenfeld: Tilly defeated by Gustavus Adolphus.

Gustavus Adolphus conquered Franconia and took Mainz.

Saxons invaded Lusatia and occupied Prague.

Treaties of Cherasco: settlement of Mantuan succession.

1632. Mannheim taken by Bernard of Weimar (in Swedish service).

Gustavus took Nürnberg.

Battle of the Lech: Gustavus defeated Tilly, who was mortally wounded.

Gustavus took Augsburg and Munich.

Wallenstein resumed command and recaptured Prague.

Frederick Henry of Orange reduced Maestricht.

Battle of Lützen: Gustavus victorious but killed: Pappenheim mortally wounded.

Christina, daughter of Gustavus, became Queen of Sweden.

Death of George Herbert.

1633. Alliance of Heilbronn: Palatinate restored to heir of Frederick V.

Sir Thomas Wentworth (Earl of Strafford) became Lord Deputy of Ireland.

French occupied Lorraine.

Bernard of Weimar took Ratisbon.

Wallenstein invaded Brandenburg and then Bavaria.

Southern Netherlands reverted to Spain on death of Isobel.

Death of Philaret, Russian monk-statesman.

1634. Wallenstein deposed (murdered soon after).

King Ferdinand of Hungary recaptured Ratisbon.

Battle of Nördlingen: Imperialist victory: Heilbronn Alliance broken up.

Ship-money began to be demanded by Charles I.

Treaty of Paris between France and Sweden: Oxenstierna, Swedish Chancellor, against it.

French Academy founded.

Prynne condemned for his *Histriomastix*.

A.D.

1635. Alliance between France and the United Provinces.

Treaty of Compiègne between France and Sweden.

War declared by France against Spain.

Treaty of Prague between the Emperor and Saxony: widely accepted: Sweden and France isolated.

Battle of Livigno: Duke of Rohan's victory over the Austrian and Spanish forces in the Valtelline.

Battle of Mazzo: Rohan's victory in the Valtelline.

Compact at Stuhmsdorf between Sweden and Poland.

Saxony declared war on Sweden.

Compact between France and Bernard of Weimar.

Death of Lope de Vega, Spanish dramatist.

Imperialists took Mainz.

Battle of Goldberg: Banér and Torstensson, Swedish generals, kept the Saxons out of Mecklenburg.

1636. Brandenburg declared war on Sweden.

Treaty of Wismar between France and Sweden.

Battle of Wittstock: Banér's victory over Saxons and Imperialists.

The *Cid* of Corneille.

1637. Death of Ferdinand II; Ferdinand III elected Emperor.

Rising of Grisons against France.

Laud's Liturgy published in Scotland: popular indignation.

Frederick Henry of Orange recaptured Breda.

John Hampden condemned by the judges.

Dutch conquests from Portuguese in West Africa.

Discours de la Méthode of Descartes.

1638. War declared by France against Austria.

Battles of Rheinfelden (two): victories of Bernard of Weimar.

Battle of Wittenweier: Bernard's victory.

The National Covenant signed in Scotland.

The Glasgow Assembly met.

Bernard of Weimar took Breisach.

1639. First Bishops' War: ended by Pacification of Berwick.

"Perpetual Peace" of Milan between Austria and the Grisons.

A.D.

1639. Van Tromp destroyed Spanish attacking Armada in the Downs.

1640. The Short Parliament in England (April–May).

Catalonia in revolt against Spain.

Second Bishops' War began: ended by Treaty of Ripon: a Parliament to be called.

LONG PARLIAMENT MET (November).

Braganza proclaimed King of Portugal as John IV.

Impeachment of Laud.

Frederick William, the "Great Elector", became ruler of Brandenburg.

Van Diemen conquered Malacca.

1641. Spanish royal forces repelled from Barcelona.

Execution of Strafford.

Truce of Stockholm between Brandenburg and Sweden.

Charles I set out for Scotland.

Rebellion in Ulster.

Grand Remonstrance voted and published by English Parliament.

1642. Attempt to seize the Five Members of the Commons.

Parliament seized Hull: ENGLISH CIVIL WAR BEGUN.

Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars against Richelieu discovered: Cinq-Mars executed: Richelieu died shortly afterwards.

Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham.

Portsmouth surrendered to the Parliament.

Battle of Edgehill: drawn.

General Assembly of Confederated Catholics in Kilkenny.

Battle of Breitenfeld: Torstensson defeated the Imperialists.

Tasman's voyages began.

1643. Fall of Olivarez.

English Parliament abolished Episcopacy.

Battle of Ross: Irish rebels defeated by Ormond.

Louis XIV became King of France.

Battle of Rocroi: D'Enghien's brilliant victory.

John Hampden killed at *Chalgrove*.

Battle of Adwalton Moor: Parliamentary forces under the Fairfaxes defeated.

Westminster Assembly began its sessions.

Battle of Roundway Down: Waller's Parliamentary army destroyed.

A.D.

1643. Royalists under Prince Rupert stormed Bristol.

French took Thionville.

Severe defeat of Spanish fleet by French off *Carthagena*.

Solemn League and Covenant: agreement between English Parliament and the Scots.

Battle of Newbury: drawn: Falkland killed.

Battle of Winceby: victory of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell.

Death of John Pym, Parliamentary leader.

Torstensson, Swedish general, invaded Denmark.

1644. Scots entered England under Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven.

Battle of Cropredy Bridge: defeat of Waller.

Battle of Kolberg Heath: defeat of Christian IV of Denmark in naval battle.

Battle of Marston Moor: Parliamentary victory due to Cromwell, aided by Scots.

Parliament captured York.

French took Gravelines.

Battle of Tippermuir: Montrose victorious.

Battle of Freiburg: D'Enghien and Turenne defeated Imperialist general Mercy.

Capitulation of Parliamentary army under Essex at Lostwithiel.

Battle of Newbury (second): Parliamentary success.

Turenne took Mainz and other places.

1645. Execution of Laud.

Battle of Inverlochy: Montrose's victory.

Uxbridge negotiations between Charles I and Parliament.

New Model Army organized under Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Battle of Jankait: Torstensson's victory.

Battle of Auldearn: Montrose's victory.

Self-denying Ordinance.

Battle of Herbsthausen: Mercy defeated Turenne.

Royalists sacked Leicester.

Battle of Naseby: victory of Fairfax and Cromwell over Charles I and Rupert.

Battle of Allerheim: D'Enghien and Turenne defeated Mercy (last killed).

Battle of Alford: Montrose's victory.

Battle of Kilsyth: Montrose's victory.

A.D.

1645. Peace of Brömsebro between Sweden and Denmark and United Provinces.

Fairfax took Bristol.

Swedish general Wrangel took Bornholm.

Battle of Philiphaugh: Montrose defeated by David Leslie.

French conquests in Catalonia.

1646. Fairfax took Exeter and Oxford.

Charles I surrendered to the Scottish army.

D'Enghien (Condé) took Dunkirk.

1647. Charles I handed over to English Parliament.

William II succeeded Frederick Henry of Orange in United Provinces.

Cornet Joyce carried off Charles I.

Masaniello headed revolt in Naples against Spain.

Quakers founded by George Fox.

"Heads of the Proposals" prepared by Ireton.

Army marched on London.

"The Agreement of the People" prepared by the Levellers.

Charles I escaped to Carisbrooke Castle.

A.D.

1647. "The Engagement" between Charles I and the Scots.

1648. Commons passed "Vote of No Addresses".

Naples revolt suppressed by Don Juan of Austria.

Frederick III King of Denmark.

Battle of Zusmarshausen: Wrangel and Turenne defeated the Imperialists.

Second Civil War began in England.

Assembly of the Hall of St. Louis to discuss French situation.

Battle of Preston: Cromwell defeated the Scots under Hamilton.

Battle of Lens: Condé defeated the Spaniards.

Rising in Paris.

Fairfax took Colchester.

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA ended Thirty Years' War and made a settlement of Europe.

Declaration of Saint-Germain: demands of the Fronde granted.

Failure of Newport negotiations between Parliament and Charles I.

Charles I declined terms offered by the army.

Pride's Purge of Parliament.

THE AGE OF CROMWELL: A.D. 1649–1660

1649. First War of the Fronde in France (quickly ended by Treaty of Rueil).

Execution of Charles I.

Charles II proclaimed King in Scotland.

English Parliament abolished the House of Lords and the Monarchy.

Cromwell stormed Drogheda and captured Wexford.

Sorbonne condemned Jansenism.

1650. Arrest of Condé and other princes in France.

Montrose captured by David Leslie, and executed.

Agreement of Breda between Charles II and the Scots.

Cromwell left Ireland, leaving Ireton in command.

Battle of Dunbar: Cromwell defeated Scots under Leslie.

1651. Charles II crowned at Scone.

Parlement of Paris voted the release of Condé and the Princes, and demanded dismissal of Mazarin; Princes released; Mazarin fled.

Condé in revolt.

1651. *Battle of Worcester*: Cromwell defeated Charles II.

Navigation Act passed by English Parliament.

William III succeeded William II in United Provinces.

1652. Monk subdued Scotland.

First War between England and Holland began.

Battle of Saint-Antoine: Turenne against Condé.

Provisional Fronde government in Paris: soon overthrown.

Act for Settling of Ireland.

Blake defeated De Ruyter in naval battle off coast of Kent.

Capitulation of Barcelona.

Van Tromp defeated Blake off *Dungeness*.

Dutch settlement at Cape of Good Hope.

France surrendered Dunkirk and Gravelines.

Nikon, an ecclesiastical reformer, became Patriarch of Moscow.

1653. Mazarin returned to Paris.

A.D.

1653. Van Tromp defeated by Blake off *Portland.*

Rupert's Royalist fleet destroyed.

Rump dissolved by Cromwell.

Monk and Blake defeated Dutch off the *Gabbard.*

Barbones Parliament met.

Monk defeated Dutch off the Texel: Van Tromp killed.

John de Witt Grand Pensionary of Holland: the Orange family excluded.

Cromwell accepted the *Instrument of Government* and became Protector.

1654. Peace between England and Holland.

Abdication of Christina of Sweden: Charles X King.

Dutch lost Brazil.

1655. Jamaica taken from Spaniards by Penn and Venables.

Sweden declared war on Poland.

Charles X took Warsaw and Cracow.

Treaty of Westminster between France and England.

1656. Treaty of Königsberg between Charles X and Frederick William of Brandenburg; Treaty of Marienburg later, and that of Labiau still later in same year.

Warsaw recovered by Poles.

Battle of Valenciennes: Turenne defeated by Condé and Don Juan.

Battle of Warsaw: Poles defeated by Swedes and Brandenburgers: Warsaw recaptured.

Blake captured the Plate fleet.

Mohammed Kiuprili became Vizier of Turkey.

1657. Cromwell accepted the *Humble Petition and Advice*, and assumed the title of Lord Protector after refusing that of King.

Act of Union between Scotland and England: annulled at Restoration.

Treaty of Paris between England and France.

A.D.

1657. Death of Emperor Ferdinand III: Leopold I elected next year.

Blake destroyed Spanish fleet at *Teneriffe.*

Alliance between Austria and Poland.

Denmark declared war against Sweden.

Charles X invaded Holstein.

Treaty of Wehlau: Brandenburg joined Austria and Poland.

1658. Swedes conquered most of Denmark.

Peace of Roeskilde between Sweden and Denmark.

Battle of the Dunes: Turenne defeated Condé and Don Juan, and captured Dunkirk and Gravelines.

League of the Rhine formed, including France.

Second Danish War of Charles X.

Death of Cromwell: Richard Cromwell Protector.

Copenhagen relieved by the Dutch.

Mohammed Kiuprili conquered Transylvania.

Aurangzeb became Moghul Emperor in India.

1659. *Battle of Elvas*: Portuguese defeated Spaniards.

Rump Parliament reassembled.

Concert of the Hague: Holland, France, and England against Sweden.

Abdication of Richard Cromwell.

PEACE OF THE PYRENEES between France and Spain.

Dutch took Nyborg and captured a Swedish force.

English Parliament resumed.

1660. Monk arrived in London and demanded a dissolution of Parliament; Long Parliament dissolved, and a new Parliament met.

Restoration of Charles II.

Death of Charles X of Sweden.

PEACE OF OLIVA ended Swedo-Danish wars.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV: A.D. 1661–1689

1661. Death of Mazarin: Louis XIV henceforward his own minister.

Savoy Conference failed to make agreement between Puritans and other Churchmen.

Treaty between England and Portugal: England obtained Tangier and Bombay as a marriage dowry.

Peace between Holland and Portugal.

Episcopacy established in Scotland by decree.

1661. Peace of Kardis between Sweden and Russia.

Corporation Act: first of a series of Acts against Puritans.

1662. Alliance between France and Holland.

Press Act in England.

ACT OF UNIFORMITY in England: led to ejection of many clergy: BEGINNING OF ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY.

Patronage restored by Scottish Parliament.

A.D.

1662. Royal Society incorporated.
Treaty between England and Holland.
Act for the Settlement of Ireland.
Dunkirk sold to France.
Death of Pascal.

1663. *Battle of Amegial*: Spaniards under Don Juan defeated Portuguese and their English allies.
Turks began war against Austria.

1664. French East India Company founded.
Battle of St. Gothard: Turks under Ahmed Kiuprili defeated by Imperialists under Montecuculi.
Colbert became Minister under Louis XIV.
Treaty of Vasvar between Turks and the Empire.
First Conventicle Act in England.
English expedition seized New Netherland and changed New Amsterdam to New York.

1665. *Battle of Lowestoft*: English naval victory over Dutch.
Battle of Montes Claros: Portuguese defeat of Spaniards.
Great Plague in London.
Charles II became King of Spain.
Five Mile Act.

1666. Louis XIV declared war against England.
Monk and Rupert defeated by De Ruyter in Four Days' Naval Battle.
Dutch fleet defeated by Monk and Rupert.
Great Fire in London.
Quadruple Alliance: Holland, Brandenburg, Denmark, and Brunswick-Lüneburg.
Battle of Rullion Green: Scottish Covenanters defeated.

1667. Act of English Parliament against Irish cattle trade.
Dutch conquered Surinam and Tobago.
Secret Treaty between Charles II and Louis XIV.
War of Devolution in regard to Spanish Netherlands.
Dutch fleet in the Thames.
Peace of Breda between England and Holland.
Lille taken by French.
Fall of Clarendon in England: the Cabal ministry succeeded.

1668. Spain recognized independence of Portugal.
France conquered Franche-Comté.

A.D.

1668. Triple Alliance: England, Holland, and Sweden.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle between France and Spain.
Abdication of John Casimir of Poland.

1669. Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki became King of Poland.
Turks conquered Crete.
Ormond recalled from Ireland: restored in 1677.
Death of Rembrandt, Dutch painter.
Secret Treaty between Louis XIV and the Elector of Brandenburg.

1670. Christian V became King of Denmark.
Treaty between Holland and Brandenburg.
Second Conventicle Act.
Secret Treaty of Dover between Charles II and Louis XIV: also a sham public treaty.

1671. Leaders of a Hungarian Conspiracy put to death.

1672. Stop of the Exchequer in England.
First Declaration of Indulgence issued.
England declared war against Holland.
Treaty between Sweden and France; also one between Sweden and England.
War between France and Holland.
Battle of Southwold Bay: De Ruyter defeated an Anglo-French fleet under the Duke of York.
Alliance between the Emperor and Brandenburg.
John de Witt resigned post of Grand Pensionary of Holland.
Murder of John and Cornelius de Witt.
Alliance between Emperor and Holland.

1673. Test Act passed; Cabal Ministry dissolved: Danby in power.
Charles II cancelled Declaration of Indulgence.
Battles of Schooneveld: De Ruyter against Rupert: both drawn.
Battle of Kykduin: De Ruyter defeated Anglo-French fleet.
Death of King Michael of Poland.
Battle of Khocsim: John Sobieski defeated Turks.
Death of Molière, French poet.
William of Orange took Bonn: French had to evacuate Netherlands.

1674. Peace between England and Holland.
John Sobieski elected King of Poland.
Franche-Comté conquered by France.
Battle of Sinsheim: Turenne defeated

A.D.

the Imperialists and devastated the Palatinate.

1674. *Battle of Seneff*: indecisive conflict between William of Orange and Condé.

Battle of Enzheim: Turenne's victory.

Sweden at war with Brandenburg.

Death of John Milton.

Pondicherry founded by French in India.

Sivaji crowned himself an independent Mahratta sovereign in India: wars with Aurangzeb.

1675. *Battle of Calmar*: Turenne defeated the Great Elector and conquered Alsace.

Battle of Fehrbellin: Great Elector's decisive victory over Sweden.

Turenne killed.

Shaftesbury organized an opposition in Parliament: BEGINNING OF WHIG PARTY.

Letters of Intercommuning in Scotland against Covenanters.

Battle of Lemberg: Sobieski defeated the Turks.

War of Scania began between Sweden and Denmark.

1676. *Battle of Öland*: naval disaster to Sweden.

Danes conquered Scania.

Treaty of Zurawna between Turkey and Poland.

Kara Mustafa succeeded Ahmed Kiuprili as Vizier of Turkey.

Theodore II Tsar of Russia.

French founded Chandernagore in India.

1677. *Battle of Landskrona*: Charles XI victorious over Danes.

Marriage of William of Orange and Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York.

Death of Spinoza, Dutch philosopher.

Turkey at war with Russia.

Stettin capitulated to the Great Elector.

1678. Treaty between England and Holland.

Peace between France and Holland.

Titus Oates and the Popish Plot.

Murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey.

Swedes expelled from Germany.

1679. Fall of Danby.

Archbishop Sharp murdered by Scottish Covenanters.

Exclusion Bill introduced in English Parliament.

Battle of Drumclog: Covenanters defeated Graham of Claverhouse.

Battle of Bothwell Bridge: Covenanters defeated by Duke of Monmouth.

A.D.

1679. Treaty of St. Germain between Brandenburg and Sweden.

Treaty of Fontainebleau between Denmark and Sweden.

PEACE OF NIMEGUEN: treaties between France, Spain, Holland, and Empire.

Habeas Corpus Act in England.

The Great Elector made an alliance with France.

1680. Petitioners and Abhorrers for and against Exclusion Bill: beginning of English party system.

House of Lords rejected Exclusion Bill.

Filmer's *Patriarcha*.

Sanquhar Declaration: Charles II disowned by strong Covenanters.

Battle of Aird's Moss: Richard Cameron killed.

1681. French occupied Strassburg.

Death of Calderon, Spanish dramatist.

1682. David Cargill executed in Scotland.

Revolt in Hungary.

Death of Theodore II: Tsarevna Sophia became Regent for Ivan and Peter.

1683. City of London charter forfeited.

Rye House Plot discovered.

Siege of Vienna by Turks under Kara Mustafa: relieved by John Sobieski.

Battle of Parkány (*Oct. 7*): Turks defeated Poles.

Battle of Parkány (*Oct. 9*): Turks defeated by Austrians and Poles: Gran captured.

Kara Mustafa put to death.

Execution of Algernon Sidney and Russell.

1684. Holy League against Turks between Austria, Poland, and Venice.

French took Luxemburg.

Truce of Ratisbon between Louis XIV and Emperor Leopold.

1685. Accession of James VII of Scotland and II of England.

Alliance between Great Elector and Holland.

Duke of Monmouth proclaimed himself King.

Battle of Sedgmoor: defeat of Monmouth.

Jeffreys and the Bloody Assizes.

Execution of Monmouth.

Execution of Duke of Argyle.

Venetians under Francesco Morosini began conquest of Morea.

Battle of Gran: Charles of Lorraine defeated the Turks.

A.D.

1685. Buda captured from the Turks.

REVOCATION OF EDICT OF NANTES in France: great emigration of Huguenots.

1686. Tyrconnel commander-in-chief in Ireland.

Secret Treaty between Frederick William and the Emperor.

Augsburg Alliance: to maintain Treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen.

1687. Tyrconnel Viceroy of Ireland.

Second Declaration of Indulgence.

Venetians captured Corinth.

Battle of Mohacs: Imperial victory by Charles of Lorraine and Lewis of Baden over Turks.

Venetians took Athens.

Mohammed IV supplanted by Suleiman II.

1688. Execution of James Renwick, last Covenanting martyr.

Frederick III Elector of Brandenburg.

Acquittal of Seven Bishops.

Invitation to William of Orange.

A.D.

1688. Belgrade taken by the Elector of Bavaria.

William of Orange landed in England: Flight of James to France.

1689. House of Commons declared the English Throne vacant: William and Mary declared joint sovereigns.

The Palatinate devastated by forces of Louis XIV.

Ex-King James landed in Ireland.

Louis XIV declared war against Spain.

Scottish Parliament declared that James had forfeited the Scottish crown: William and Mary chosen.

Siege of Derry: ultimately relieved.

Toleration Act.

Battle of Killiecrankie: Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, killed in hour of victory.

Battle of Newtown Butler: James's army defeated: Sligo fell, but recovered by Sarsfield.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

Sophia's rule overthrown in Russia.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION: A.D. 1690–1713

1690. *Battle of the Boyne*: James defeated and fled to France: Schomberg killed.

Battle of Fleurus: French victory by Luxembourg over Dutch and allies.

Battle of Beachy Head: French naval victory by Tourville over England and Holland.

First Siege of Limerick (soon raised).

Belgrade recaptured by Turks.

Scottish Parliament abolished the Lords of the Articles and Lay Patronage and re-established Presbyterianism: SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT BECAME A REAL POWER IN SCOTLAND.

1691. French took Mons.

Athlone taken by Ginkel.

Battle of Aughrim: Ginkel defeated St. Ruth (who was killed).

Galway surrendered to William's forces.

Second Siege of Limerick: capitulated.

Battle of Szalankemen: Turks defeated by Lewis of Baden.

1692. Massacre of Glencoe.

Battle of La Hogue: Russell's naval victory over French.

Louis XIV took Namur.

Battle of Steinkirke: Luxembourg defeated William of Orange.

1693. *Battle of Neerwinden*: Luxembourg defeated William of Orange.

Battle of Marsaglia: Duke of Savoy defeated by Catinat.

Dutch took Pondicherry.

National Debt created in England by Montagu.

1694. Bank of England founded by William Paterson.

Triennial Act.

Death of Queen Mary.

William III took Namur.

1695. Freedom of Press established in England.

Fénelon became Bishop of Cambrai.

Darien Schème proposed by Paterson.

Anti-Catholic legislation in Ireland.

Mustafa II Sultan.

1696. Recoinage Act.

Assassination Plot against William detected.

Russia took Azoff.

Death of Ivan V: Peter the Great ruled alone.

Duke of Savoy joined France.

1697. Charles XII King of Sweden.

Irish Parliament refused full ratification of the Articles of Limerick.

A.D.

1697. Elector of Saxony elected King of Poland as Augustus II.

Battle of Zenta: Turks defeated by Prince Eugene.

PEACE OF RYSWICK between France, England, Holland, Spain, and the Empire.

1698. Revolt of the Strieltzy in Russia suppressed.

First Treaty of Partition (of Spanish dominions) between Louis XIV and William III.

New East India Company founded in England.

Collier's *Short View of the English Stage.*

1699. TREATY OF CARLOWITZ between Austria, Venice, Poland, and Turkey: Austria gained Hungary, Poland Podolia, Venice Dalmatia and Morea.

Death of Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria: Spanish Succession reopened.

Second Partition Treaty.

English legislation against Irish woollen industry.

Frederick IV King of Denmark.

Convention between Denmark and Russia.

Alliance of Denmark and Poland against Sweden.

Death of Racine, French tragic dramatist.

Russia signed treaty with Poland for partition of Sweden.

1700. Act of Resumption in Ireland.

Thirty Years' Truce between Russia and Turkey.

Great Northern War began: Russia and Poland against Sweden.

Death of Dryden.

Peace of Traventhal between Denmark and Sweden.

Last Will of Charles II of Spain made Duke Philip of Anjou his heir.

Death of Charles II of Spain: Louis XIV accepted the dead king's will: WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION BEGUN.

Battle of Narva: Charles XII defeated Russians.

1701. Brandenburg erected into the KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA: Frederick III first King as Frederick I.

Prince Eugene invaded Italy.

Battle of Dünamunde: Charles XII defeated Russians and Saxons: Courland occupied.

Battle of Chiari: Eugene defeated Villeroi.

A.D.

1701. Grand Alliance concluded between England, Holland, and the Emperor.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT in England.

1702. *Battle of Errestièr*: Swedes defeated by Russians.

Eugene raided Cremona and captured Villeroi.

Anne became Queen of Britain.

Charles XII at Warsaw.

The Allies took Kaiserswerth.

Battle of Hummelshof: Swedes defeated by Russians.

Battle of Klissow: Charles XII defeated Poles and Saxons: Cracow captured.

Failure of English attack on Cadiz.

Rooke destroyed Plate fleet in Vigo.

Battle of Friedlingen: Lewis of Baden defeated by Villars.

Marlborough took Liége.

Camisard Rebellion (Huguenot) in Central France.

1703. *Battle of Scharding*: Austrians defeated by Bavarians.

Battle of Pultusk: Charles XII defeated Saxons.

Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal: another Methuen Treaty (commercial) later in same year.

Marlborough took Bonn.

Battle of Höchstädt: Villars defeated Germans.

Savoy joined Grand Alliance.

Battle of Speyerbach: Allies defeated by Tallard.

St. Petersburg founded by Peter the Great.

Act of Security in Scotland (Royal Assent next year).

1704. Alien Act in England.

Marlborough's victory at Donauwörth.

Stanislaus Leszczynski made King of Poland by Charles XII.

Russians took Dorpat and Narva.

Rooke captured Gibraltar.

Battle of Blenheim: Marlborough and Eugene defeated Tallard and the Elector of Bavaria.

Battle of Malaga: drawn naval battle between Rooke and Toulouse.

Warsaw recaptured from Charles XII.

Marlborough occupied Trier.

1705. Harley and St. John became ministers in England.

Death of Leopold I: Joseph I elected Emperor.

Battle of Gemaurhof: Swedes defeated Russian attempt on Courland.

A.D.

1705. Peterborough reduced Barcelona.

1706. *Battle of Fraustadt*: Swedish victory.

Allies took Madrid (soon evacuated).

Battle of Ramillies: Marlborough crushed Villeroi.

Marlborough took Ostend.

Battle of Turin: Eugene defeated the investing army: French evacuated Piedmont.

Peace of Altranstädt between Saxony and Sweden: Stanislaus recognized as King.

Execution of Patkul.

Battle of Kalisch: Swedes defeated by Russians and Saxons.

1707. Convention of Milan: France abandoned North Italy.

Battle of Almansa: British defeated in Spain by Berwick.

TREATY OF UNION BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

Eugene abandoned attempt on Toulon.

Perpetual Alliance between Prussia and Sweden.

Death of Aurangzeb: Moghul Empire in decline.

1708. Harley and St. John out of office: Ministry entirely Whig.

Battle of Holowczyn: Charles XII defeated Russians.

Battle of Oudenarde: Marlborough defeated Vendôme.

Battle of Lyesna: Swedes under Levenhaupt defeated by Russians.

Leake and Stanhope took Minorca and Sardinia.

Cossack leader Mazepa joined Charles XII.

Lille taken by the Allies.

Union of the two British East India Companies.

1709. *Battle of Pultawa*: Charles XII defeated by Peter the Great and fled to Turkey.

Alliance between Denmark and Augustus of Poland and Saxony.

Battle of Malplaquet: hard-won victory by Marlborough and Eugene.

Allies took Mons.

A.D.

1709. New League against Sweden between Augustus and Peter the Great.

First Barrier Treaty between Britain and Holland.

Danish invasion of Scania.

1710. *Battle of Helsingborg*: Danes defeated and driven out of Sweden.

Russians took Viborg, Riga, Pernau, and Reval.

Battle of Almenara: defeat of Spaniards by Starhemberg.

Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell for a sermon.

Harley and St. John again in office.

Battle of Saragossa: Spaniards defeated by Starhemberg.

Madrid again occupied by Allies.

1711. War between Russia and Turkey.

Death of Emperor Joseph: Charles VI elected Emperor.

Peace of the Pruth between Russia and Turkey.

Marlborough dismissed.

1712. Peers created in British Parliament to pass peace clauses.

Battle of Denain: Dutch defeated by Villars.

Lay Patronage restored in Scottish Church against Scottish opinion.

Battle of Gadebusch: Swedish victory over Danes.

1713. Second Barrier Treaty between Britain and Holland.

Charles XII's defence against Turks at Bender.

Death of Frederick I of Prussia: Frederick William I succeeded.

TREATY OF UTRECHT ended War of Spanish Succession: Acadia, Newfoundland, &c., ceded by France to Britain; Victor Amadeus of Savoy became King of Sicily.

Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI to settle Austrian Succession.

Swedish force capitulated at Oldenburg.

Peace of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey.

Papal Bull *Unigenitus* condemned Jansenism.

THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: A.D. 1714–1748

1714. Peace of Rastadt between Austria and France; accepted by Empire in Peace of Baden.

Quarrel between Harley (Earl of Oxford) and St. John (Lord Bolingbroke): former dismissed.

1714. Accession of George I in Britain: beginning of Hanoverian dynasty.

Whig Ministry: Townshend, Stanhope, Walpole, &c.

Peter the Great conquered Finland.

A.D.

1715. Louis XV became King of France.
Riot Act passed.
Jacobite rebellion in Scotland and northern England.
Battle of Preston: Jacobites defeated and their army surrendered.
Battle of Sheriffmuir: indecisive battle between Jacobites and Royalists.
Denmark ceded Bremen and Verden to Hanover.
Third Dutch Barrier Treaty.
Stralsund taken by Prussia, in alliance with Denmark, Hanover, Russia, &c.
Commercial treaty between Britain and Spain.

1716. Commercial treaty between Britain and Holland.
Prussia captured all Swedish Pomerania.
Battle of Peterwardein: Turks defeated by Imperialists.
John Law founded a Bank in France.
Treaty of Westminster between Britain and the Emperor.
Septennial Act in Britain.
Death of Leibnitz, German philosopher.
Triple Alliance: France, Britain, and Holland.
Turks conquered Morea.

1717. Whig Split: Stanhope became chief minister.
John Law founded the Louisiana Company.
Spanish conquest of Sardinia.
Bangorian controversy.
Battle of Belgrade: Turks defeated by Imperialists under Prince Eugene.

1718. PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ between the Empire and the Turks.
Charles VI joined Triple Alliance, making it a Quadruple Alliance.
Battle of Cape Passaro: Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet.
Death of Charles XII of Sweden.
Victor Amadeus of Savoy became King of Sardinia instead of King of Sicily.
Britain declared war against Spain.

1719. France declared war against Spain.
Treaty of Vienna between George I, Austria, and Saxony.
Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.
Treaty of Stockholm between Hanover and Sweden.
Fall of the Spanish minister Alberoni.
Death of Addison.
Act passed empowering the English Parliament to pass laws for Ireland.

A.D.

1720. Quadruple Alliance joined by Spain, Denmark, and Poland.
Failure of Law's Bank in France.
Outbreak of Plague in Marseilles and southern France.
South Sea Bubble.
Treaties between Sweden and Prussia, and between Sweden and Denmark.

1721. Treaty of Madrid between Spain and France.
Walpole became Prime Minister.
PEACE OF NYSTAD between Peter the Great and Sweden: Sweden ceased to be a first-rate power.

1722. Peter the Great took Baku.

1723. Ostend East India Company chartered by Charles VI.

1724. Abdication of Philip V of Spain: Luis's short reign: re-accession of Philip V.
Atterbury's plot.
Jonathan Swift began publication of his *Drapier's Letters*.

1725. First Treaty of Vienna between Austria and Spain.
Alliance of Herrenhausen (or Hanover) between Britain, France, and Prussia.
Catharine I succeeded Peter the Great.

1726. Alliance of Herrenhausen joined by Sweden and Denmark.
Treaty of Wusterhausen between Austria and Prussia.

1727. Spain declared war against Britain.
Peter II Tsar of Russia.
George II King of Britain.
James Thomson's *Summer*.
First Indemnity Act for Nonconformists in England.
Death of Isaac Newton.

1728. Convention of the Pardo ended War between Spain and Britain.

1729. Beginning of METHODIST REVIVAL.
Treaty of Seville between Britain, France, and Spain.
Death of Congreve.
The Ostend Company brought to an end.
William Law's *Serious Call*.

1730. Anne became Tsarina of Russia.
Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, abdicated: succeeded by Charles Emmanuel.
Christian VI became King of Denmark.

1731. Spain denounced the Treaty of Seville.
Britain and Holland guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

A.D.

1731. Second Treaty of Vienna: Emperor ratified Treaty of Seville: Spain afterwards acceded.

1733. Death of Augustus II of Poland: **Stanislaus Leszczynski** elected king, also **Augustus III**: War of Polish Succession followed.

Battle of Bitonto: Spanish victory in Italy over Austrian forces.

Treaty of Turin between France and Sardinia.

Treaty of the Escurial: First Family Compact between France and Spain.

Walpole compelled to withdraw his Excise Bill.

Invention of fly shuttle by **John Kay**.

1735. Abdication of Stanislaus Leszczynski: **Augustus III** elected King of Poland.

War began between Russia and Turkey.

Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.

1737. Third Treaty of Vienna closed War of the Polish Succession: **Don Carlos** set up as King of Naples.

1738. Parties of *Hats* and *Caps* first appeared in Sweden.

1739. Peace of Belgrade: Austria sacrificed to Turks all the fruits of Peace of Passarowitz.

Treaty of Constantinople ended Russo-Turkish War.

War broke out between Britain and Spain.

Portobello in West Indies captured by **Vernon**.

1740. **Frederick II (Frederick the Great)** became King of Prussia.

Ivan VI became Tsar of Russia.

Death of **Charles VI**: WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION began, to prevent accession of his daughter, **Maria Theresa**.

Invasion of Silesia by Frederick the Great.

1741. *Battle of Mollwitz*: Frederick the Great's victory over Austrians.

Treaty of Breslau between France and Frederick the Great.

Sweden declared war against Russia.

Battle of Vilmanstrand: defeat of Swedes.

Convention of Klein-Schnellendorf: Maria Theresa abandoned Lower Silesia to Frederick.

Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*.

Frederick's allies captured Prague, and Frederick invaded Moravia.

Elizabeth became Tsarina of Russia.

The *Messiah* of **Handel**.

1742. Fall of Walpole: **Carteret** in power.

A.D.

1742. **Charles VII** elected Emperor.

Battle of Chotusitz: Austrians defeated by Frederick the Great.

1743. *Battle of Campo Santo*: Spanish defeat.

Treaty of Worms between Austria, Britain, and Sardinia.

Battle of Dettingen: George II defeated the French.

Peace of Berlin between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony.

Peace of Abo between Sweden and Russia.

Treaty of Fontainebleau: Second Family Compact between France and Spain.

1744. Union of Frankfort between Prussia, Hesse-Cassel, and Elector Palatine.

Pelham Ministry in Britain.

Invasion of Bohemia by Frederick the Great.

Death of **Alexander Pope**.

War declared between Britain and France.

Britain captured Louisburg in America.

1745. Death of **Charles VII**: **Francis I**, husband of Maria Theresa, elected Emperor.

Treaty of Füssen between Austria and Bavaria.

Jacobite rebellion in Britain.

Battle of Prestonpans: **Prince Charles Edward** victorious.

Battle of Fontenoy: defeat of British by **Marshal Saxe**.

Alliance between Austria and Russia.

Battle of Hohenfriedberg: Frederick the Great victorious.

Battles of Sohr and Hennersdorf: Frederick the Great victorious.

Battle of Kesselsdorf: Prussian victory over Austrians and Saxons.

Battle of Basignano: French and Spanish victory in Italy: Milan captured.

Treaty of Dresden between Prussia and Austria.

1746. *Battle of Falkirk*: Prince Charles victorious.

Franco-Sardinian Alliance.

Milan retaken from the French and Spaniards by aid of Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia: all Piedmont and Lombardy recovered.

Brussels taken by Marshal Saxe.

Frederick V King of Denmark.

Franco-Danish Alliance.

Battle of Culloden: Jacobites finally crushed.

Battle of Piacenza: Austrian victory.

A.D.

1746. Treaty of St. Petersburg between Russia and Austria.

Britain took Cape Breton.

Ferdinand VI King of Spain.

Battle of Roucoux: Marshal Saxe defeated the Allies: Netherlands secured.

France captured Madras.

A.D.

1747. William IV Stadtholder of United Provinces.

Treaty between Prussia and Sweden.

Battle of Lauffeldt: French victory.

1748. French took Bergen-op-Zoom.

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: War of Austrian Succession ended.

THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE: A.D. 1749–1763

1749. Treaty of Aquisgran between Britain and Spain: commercial.

Dupleix made the Carnatic French.

Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*.

1750. Bill for the Prohibition of Colonial Manufactures before Parliament.

Joseph became King of Portugal.

1751. Seizure and defence of Arcot by Clive.

The *Encyclopédie* began to appear.

1752. Treaty of Aranjuez between Spain and Austria regarding Italy.

Britain adopted the Gregorian calendar.

1754. Newcastle Ministry in Britain.

1755. Convention of St. Petersburg between Britain and Russia.

Great Earthquake at Lisbon.

Braddock's force destroyed by French and Indians in America.

1756. Convention of Westminster between Britain and Prussia.

Devonshire and Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) formed a Ministry.

Treaty of Versailles between France and Austria.

France captured Minorca.

Britain declared war against France: SEVEN YEARS' WAR begun.

Surajah Dowlah seized Calcutta: the Black Hole of Calcutta.

Battle of Lobositz: Frederick the Great against the Austrians: indecisive.

Russia adhered to Treaty of Versailles.

1757. Ministry of Newcastle and Pitt.

Clive captured Calcutta and Chandernagore.

New Treaty of Versailles between France and Austria.

Battle of Plassey: Clive's victory over Surajah Dowlah.

Battle of Prague: Frederick defeated the Austrians.

Battle of Kolin: Frederick defeated by Austrians under Daun.

Battle of Hastenbeck: Hanoverians under Duke of Cumberland beaten by French.

1757. *Battle of Gross-Jägerndorf*: Prussians defeated by Russians.

Convention of Klosterzeven: Hanoverian army to be disbanded.

Battle of Rossbach: Frederick defeated the French.

Battle of Breslau: Prussians defeated by Austrians.

Battle of Leuthen: Prussian victory over the Austrians.

1758. British captured Louisburg.

Clive became Governor of Bengal.

Battle of Zorndorf: drawn between Frederick and the Russians.

Battle of Hochkirch: Frederick defeated by Austrians.

1759. *Battle of Kay*: Prussians defeated by Russians.

Battle of Minden: French defeated by Ferdinand of Brunswick: Hanover saved.

Battle of Kunersdorf: Frederick defeated by Russians.

Battle of Quebec: Britain captured it from French; Wolfe and Montcalm killed.

Charles III King of Spain.

Jesuits expelled from Portugal and Brazil.

Battle of Quiberon Bay: Hawke annihilated French fleet.

1760. *Battle of Wandewash*: Sir Eyre Coote defeated French in India: Pondicherry taken next year.

Battle of Landshut: Prussian force annihilated; fall of Glatz.

Battle of Liegnitz: Frederick defeated the Austrians.

Russians occupied Berlin.

George III King of Britain.

Capitulation of Montreal: Britain master of Canada.

Battle of Torgau: Frederick defeated the Austrians.

1761. *Battle of Panipat*: Mahrattas defeated by Afghans in India: the Moghul Empire now only a shadow.

Spaniards invaded Portugal.

A.D.
1761. Treaty of San Ildefonso: Third Family Compact between France and Spain.
Fall of Pitt.
Bute became Prime Minister.
1762. Britain declared war against Spain.
Peter III became Tsar of Russia; Catharine II Tsarina soon afterwards.
Prussia concluded peace with Russia and Sweden: Alliance between Russia and Prussia.
Martinique, Havana, Manila, &c., captured by Britain.
Battle of Wilhelmsthal: British and Hanoverian victory over French.

A.D.
1762. *Battle of Lutternberg*: British and Hanoverians defeated the French.
Battle of Freiberg: Prussians defeated the Austrians.
Rousseau published the *Contrat Social*.
1763. Seven Years' War ended by PEACE OF HUBERTUSBURG between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, and PEACE OF PARIS between France, Spain, and Britain: Britain gained Canada, &c.
Bute resigned office in Britain: Grenville Ministry formed.
Whiteboy outbreaks in Ireland.

THE RISE OF THE UNITED STATES: A.D. 1764–1788

1764. John Wilkes expelled from House of Commons.
Stanislaus Poniatowski elected King of Poland.
Jesuits expelled from France.
Battle of Buxar: Britain gained Oude, &c.
Invention of Spinning Jenny by James Hargreaves.
1765. Stamp Act passed by British Parliament.
Rockingham Ministry formed.
Joseph II became Emperor.
Percy's *Reliques*.
1766. Repeal of Stamp Act, but Declaratory Act passed declaring Britain's right to tax the colonies.
Chatham and Grafton formed a Ministry.
Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.
France annexed Lorraine.
1767. Spain expelled the Jesuits.
Treaty of alliance between Prussia and Russia.
Tea and other duties imposed by British Parliament on America.
1768. Corsica bought by France from Genoa.
Renewal of alliance between Russia and Prussia.
Confederation of Bar formed in Poland.
Chatham retired: Grafton head of Ministry.
Russia invaded Poland.
Turks declared war against Russia.
Royal Academy established.
The water frame of Richard Arkwright.
1769. First of *Letters of Junius* published.
Russians defeated Turks and occupied Moldavia and Bucharest.
1770. Lord North became Prime Minister.
Burke published *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*.

1770. The "Boston Massacre" so-called.
Spaniards attacked Falkland Islands.
Battle of Tchesmé: Turkish fleet destroyed by Russia.
1771. Parlement of Paris exiled.
Gustavus III King of Sweden.
Russia occupied the Crimea.
1772. First Partition of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
Royal Marriage Act.
Gustavus III re-established absolutism in Sweden.
Struensee, Danish reforming statesman, executed; Guldberg in power.
1773. Alliance between France and Sweden.
Jesuit Order suppressed by Pope Clement XIV.
Indian Regulating Act passed.
Warren Hastings became first Governor-General of Bengal.
Pugachoff's insurrection in Russia.
1774. Boston Tea Riot; retaliatory legislation by British Parliament.
Louis XVI became King of France.
Turgot became Finance Minister of France.
Quebec Act passed.
Battle of Shumla: Russians routed Turks.
TREATY OF KUTCHUK-KAINARDJI between Russia and Turkey: great gains by former.
Oxygen discovered by Joseph Priestley.
Chlorine discovered by Scheele.
1775. *Battle of Lexington*: American victory.
Washington became commander-in-chief.
Battle of Bunker Hill: Americans defeated.
Spaniards attacked Algiers.

A.D.

1776. Spaniards attacked Sacramento.
Parliament passed a Prohibitory Act against American commerce.
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by American colonies.
Death of David Hume.
Edward Gibbon began publication of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*
Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.*

1777. Maria I Queen of Portugal along with Pedro III.
Necker became Finance Minister of France.
General Burgoyne capitulated to Americans at Saratoga.

1778. Treaty of Paris between France and America.
Treaty of the Pardo between Spain and Portugal.
Bavarian War of Succession began.
Treaty between Holland and America.
Savile's Roman Catholic Relief Act.
Death of Voltaire.

1779. Treaty of Teschen between Austria and Russia ended War of Bavarian Succession.
Spain declared war against Britain.
Siege of Gibraltar began (relieved next year).
The spinning mule of Samuel Crompton.
Death of David Garrick.

1780. Joseph II sole Emperor on death of Maria Theresa.
Holland declared war against Britain.
Lord George Gordon No-popery riots.
Armed Neutrality formed against Britain by Russia and Prussia.
Alliance of Austria and Russia against Turkey.
Hyder Ali conquered Carnatic.

1781. French attack on Jersey defeated by Pierson.
Rodney's victories in West Indies.
French admiral De Grasse captured Tobago.
Patent of Tolerance issued by Joseph II.
Battle of Porto Novo: Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder Ali.
Capitulation of Cornwallis in Yorktown to American insurgents.
Serfdom abolished by Joseph II.

1782. French captured Minorca and various West Indian islands.
Spain suppressed rebellion in Peru.
Evacuation of Barrier fortresses by Dutch.

A.D.

1782. Rodney's victory over De Grasse in West Indies saved Jamaica.
Second Rockingham Ministry formed: soon succeeded by Shelburne.
Declaration of Rights by Grattan; Irish legislative independence.
Relief of Gibraltar by Howe.
James Watt patented his STEAM ENGINE.

1783. TREATY OF VERSAILLES between Britain, France, and America.
Britain recognized independence of American colonies.
Coalition Ministry of Fox and North.
Fox's India Bill rejected by the House of Lords.
William Pitt in power.
Catharine II annexed the Crimea.

1784. Bernstorff in power in Denmark.
India Act of William Pitt.
Treaty of Constantinople between Russia and Turkey: Crimea finally passed to Russia.

1785. Sweden declared war against Russia.
Battle of Hogland: Russian naval victory over Sweden.
The Fürstenbund (League of Princes) formed by Frederick the Great.
Danish attack on Sweden.
Treaty of Fontainebleau abrogated Barrier Treaty of 1715.
The Diamond Necklace Affair in France.
The power loom of Edmund Cartwright.
Death of Samuel Johnson.

1786. Death of Frederick the Great: succeeded by Frederick William II.
Commercial Treaty between Britain and France.
Robert Burns published first volume of poems.

1787. Impeachment of Warren Hastings began: Edmund Burke the leader.
Disturbances in Austrian Netherlands.
Invasion of Holland by Prussia.
Assembly of Notables met in France.
Austria and Russia declared war against Turkey.

1788. Triple alliance between Britain, Holland, and Prussia.
First motion in House of Commons for abolition of slave trade.
War between Sweden and Russia.
Convention of Uddevalla: Danes evacuated Sweden.
Charles IV King of Spain.
Russians took Ochakoff from the Turks.

THE GREAT MOVEMENTS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

MODERN HISTORY

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD TO THE PRESENT DAY

INTRODUCTORY

The following are the chief marks of the commencement of a new period:—

(1) **Decline of Power of Empire and Papacy.**—The long contest of the Middle Ages between these two divisions of the Kingdom of God on earth had done more than weaken each of them; it had dealt a blow at the mediæval ideal of one state and one religion. Thus we see in Modern History

(2) **Rise of the Nations and of National Churches.**—The growth of individual liberty insisted on by the Renaissance thinkers had its effect in both politics and religion. In the former sphere a demand was formulated that national feeling should be expressed in independent national assemblies; and in the latter sphere national feeling demanded a national Church. Thus in modern times, such movements as the progress of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy towards independence, and the rise of national churches following the Reformation, constantly recurred. But while these movements convulsed the European body politic and religious, internal movements peculiar to the respective countries were going on, and we have

(3) **Growth of Democracy and Individual Liberty.**—This was only seen later, after the nations themselves had taken shape. Thus, England was a political unit long before the Reform Bills of 1832, 1866, and 1884 had made practicable what had existed for years in theory. Before democracy could be even promulgated it was necessary for it to have a root cause, and that is found in

(4) **Growth of Monarchies.**—The trend of political history in Europe after the foundation of the monarchies was in the direction of the growth of strong monarchical power. In England the Tudors, and in France the Valois, and then the Bourbons, exercised a sway that was almost absolute, and that was only ended by revolutions such as those of 1642–1649 and 1688–1689 in England, and those of 1789, 1830, and 1848 in France. In the meantime, however, the rise of the nations had been accompanied by the advance of

(5) **Colonization.**—Possible after the discovery of new lands. Age of Discovery, from twelfth to fifteenth centuries, at its highest point in fifteenth century. Chief landmarks in this age:—

(*a*) *Africa.*—East and west coasts and Sahara explored by Saracens in these centuries. Italians and Portuguese followed them on west coast; plan of Prince Henry the Navigator (see *supra*) to colonize Azores and Madeira. Beginnings of slave trade, with the object of christianizing the natives through agency of Order of Jesus Christ. Further voyages—Congo reached (1484); Cape of Good Hope

reached by Bartholomew Diaz (1486). European commerce with East within the grasp of Portugal; efforts of other navigators to emulate the Portuguese example.

(*b*) *America.*—Legends of existence of lands beyond Azores across South Atlantic, supported by stories of Norwegian voyages in tenth century. New land believed to be halfway to Asia and the East. Voyages of Bristol seamen from Dingle Bay, Ireland, in fifteenth century. Final success of Columbus, owing to his determination to sail due west; voyages (1492–1493, 1498, and 1502) and discovery of Bahama Islands, Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, West Indies, and Central and South America. Continent named from Americo Vespucci, a successor of Columbus. Voyages of John Cabot and his sons, under English patronage.

(*c*) *Asia.*—Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India (1497–1498). Further voyages of Portuguese to islands of East. First circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1522) by expedition of Magellan, who was killed in the Philippines before the completion of the voyage.

Of the three continents, America soon became the most important. There followed the Spanish conquest of Mexico (1522) by Cortes, and of Peru (1532–1533) by Pizarro. Soon English settlements in North America followed. And the chief idea bequeathed by the New World to the Old was that of toleration, which was possible in settlements far removed from one another.

(6) **Invention of Printing.**—The introduction of this art (introduced into England from Bruges by Caxton about 1470, but already in use on the Continent) rendered possible the spread of literature, especially the Bible, and was of immense service in the new movement which was changing the face of modern Europe—the Renaissance.

(7) **Use of Gunpowder.**—One of the immediate effects of the invention of gunpowder was in the direction of weakening the basis of Feudalism. This system depended partly on the practice of providing armed soldiers in time of war. When gunpowder began to be used, the advantages of heavy armour were diminished and the chances of the trained soldier were increased. Consequently there arose on the Continent a class of professional soldiers, not dependent on the Feudal System, and a blow was dealt at the already dying method of land tenure which had held sway in Europe for so long.

But over and above all these signs of the commencement of a new epoch, and including some of them, was the movement known as the Renaissance (Renascence—"new birth"—New Learning), due to the Capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453) and the flight of the Christian scholars before the storm of the Mohammedan conquest. The exiled scholars became centres of an intellectual revival wherever they settled, and the times were ripe for the new knowledge which they could give. The immediate results were a desire for knowledge, and ultimately the rise of democratic ideas. The prevailing principle of mediæval times had been that of association—a man's place in society depended on his position in an association such as a Merchant Gild or a Craft Gild. From this time there grows the conception of individuality, which reached its zenith in the Laissez Faire system of the early nineteenth century.

Our chief divisions in the study of Modern History will be:—

A. Italy, The Empire and France to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

B. The Reformation Period and the Wars of Religion (1520 to 1648).

C. A Century of French Ascendancy (1610 to 1715).

D. The Growth of Colonization (1492 to present day).

E. The French Revolution and the Age of Napoleon (1789–1815).

F. The Nineteenth Century — progress towards Nationalism and Democracy.

G. The Decline of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, and the Rise of Russia.

H. The Eastern Question.

I. The United States from 1789.

In this portion of our task we have to follow—(1) the growth of the nationalities of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Switzerland, which were not in existence at the beginning of the modern period; (2) the extension of the right of colonization from its confinement to Spain and Portugal by the Papal Bull of 1493; and (3) the

progress of the nations towards democracy.

A. ITALY, THE EMPIRE, AND FRANCE

TO THE TREATY OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS (1559)

I. Italy.—Consisted of five larger states—Milan, Venice, Florence, the Papal States, and Naples—and a few smaller states, such as Mantua and Ferrara. Milan under the Sforzas, successors of the Visconti; Venice under the Doges (Dukes), and still a powerful republic; Florence under the Medici (Lorenzo died 1492), whose influence was waning; Naples and Sicily under different branches of the Aragonese dynasty; Papacy morally degraded—Alexander VI (Pope 1492–1503) was almost the worst of the Popes. No semblance of unity in the country, and people lacking in purpose and character. Italy still the prey of the foreigner.

(1) CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE (1483–1498).—See *supra*.

(*a*) *Claim.*—Orleanist and Angevin claims, through heredity, on Milan and Naples respectively. Quarrel between Milan and Naples afforded suitable opportunity to Charles to intervene, on invitation of Ludovico Sforza.

(*b*) *Expedition.*—Charles crossed Alps (1494), entered Florence, made terms with Pope Alexander VI, and was crowned King of Naples (1495).

(*c*) *League of Venice.*—Formed (1495) by Milan, Venice, the Pope, Naples, and the Empire against France. Charles left Italy after a skirmish at Fornovo. Reaction against French. Death of Charles (1498) and end of his Italian conquests.

(2) LOUIS XII OF FRANCE (1498–1515).—Continuation of attacks on Milan and Naples.

(*a*) *Milan.*—League of Venice deserted by Alexander VI and Venice. Marriage between Cæsar Borgia, son of Alexander VI, and niece of Louis XII. French conquest of Milan; capture and exile of Ludovico Sforza, and temporary end of Sforza power in Milan.

(*b*) *Naples.*—Partition arranged at Granada between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Spain (1500). War broke out, and French were driven from Naples (1504).

(*c*) *Holy League.*—Formed (1511) by Pope Julius II, the Empire, Spain, and England against France. French driven out of Milan, which was given to Maximilian Sforza, and routed at Guinegate (Battle of the Spurs) by Maximilian I and Henry VIII (marriage between Louis and Henry's sister, Mary); Scotland, ally of France, defeated by England at Flodden (1513). Deaths of Julius II (1513) and Louis XII (1515). Accession of Francis I of France (1515–1547).

(3) SAVONAROLA AND FLORENCE.

(*a*) *Early Life of Savonarola.*—Born 1452; prior (1491) of Dominican Convent of San Marco, Florence. Preached that a judgment must take place on Italy for her wickedness; French invasion of 1494 seemed to fulfil his prophecy.

(*b*) *Florentine Republic.*—Flight of Piero de Medici owing to revolt and French invasion. Republic set up under guidance of Savonarola, whose influence waned on account of successive attacks of his enemies and papal excommunications. Execution (1498). Restoration of Medici (1512).

(4) FRANCIS I AND CHARLES V.—For causes of rivalry, see *infra*.

(*a*) *1520–1529.*—First war. Conquest of Milan by Francis at Marignano (1515). War inevitable—support of Henry VIII sought by Francis at Field of Cloth of Gold, and won by Charles at Gravelines. Pope Leo X also supported Charles. Thus another league to expel French from Italy. Success of Charles—French driven from Milan, and Francis captured at Pavia (1525). Sack of Rome by Charles (1527), who had quarrelled with the Papacy. Treaty of Cambrai (1529), by which French were to give up all claim on Italy.

(*b*) *1536–1544.*—Second war. Francis renewed his claims on Milan. Invasion of France by Henry VIII of England in alliance with Charles—English capture of Boulogne (1544). Treaty of Crépy (1544) never carried out. Death of Francis (1547).

II. The Empire.—Reigns of Maximilian I and Charles V.

(1) MAXIMILIAN I (1493–1519), son of Frederick III.—Chief points in his reign:—

(*a*) *Reforms in Empire.*—Drawn up at Imperial Diet at Worms. Imperial Chamber (Court of Justice) reformed and taxation revised. Later, Council of Regency appointed, and Germany divided into "Circles", or administrative districts.

(*b*) *Increase in Hapsburg Power.*—By means of marriages.

(*a*) Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy.

(β) His son, Philip, married Joanna, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

But no enforcement of imperial authority in Italy (see *supra* for connection of Empire with leagues of 1495 and 1511) or Switzerland.

(2) CHARLES V (1519–1556).

(a) *Descent.*

Ferdinand of Aragon = Isabella of Castile
Maximilian I = Mary of Burgundy
Joanna = Philip
Charles V
(heir to Hapsburg territories, Spain and her possessions, and the Netherlands, and successful candidate in Imperial election).

(b) *Rivalry with Francis I of France.*—Causes:—

(α) Personal—each a candidate for the Empire in 1519.

(β) Territorial—due to French claims on Italy and Burgundy; Milan was an imperial fief, and Burgundy had revolted from her allegiance to Louis XI.

(c) *Italian Wars.*—See *supra.*

(d) *Charles and the Reformation.*—See *infra.*

(e) *Charles and Spain.*—Charles King of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the New World on death of Ferdinand (1516). Much discontent—Castile and Aragon independent of each other; social differences amounting almost to the "Privilege" of eighteenth-century France. Revolts against Charles; but they were suppressed, and Spain remained a despotism.

(f) *Charles and Germany.*—Events form part of progress of Reformation, which prevented the political unity at which Charles aimed. Absolute measures of the Emperor produced a reaction—revolt of Maurice of Saxony against Charles; Metz, Toul, and Verdun (border fortresses) passed to France (1553). Abdication of Charles (1556).

(3) PHILIP II OF SPAIN, AND FRANCE.—War ended by Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), which closed the long period of war between France and the Hapsburgs. Germany and Spain now separate.

III. France.—Reigns of Louis XII (1498–1515) and Francis I (1515–1547). Resources of France wasted on Italian wars. Yet national spirit of France developed during the wars, and the state became more centralized, even the Church being made subject to the State in 1516. Francis I originated the French policy of Catholicism at home and Protestantism abroad—severe repression of Huguenots in France.

B. THE REFORMATION PERIOD AND THE WARS OF RELIGION (1520–1648).

I. Brief Survey of the Period.—A century and a quarter, during which the grouping of European states was dictated by religion, to give place later to commercial rivalry. The chief movements to be traced are:—

(1) The Reformation and its effects, principally on Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Spain, France, and England.

(2) The Revolt of the Netherlands.

(3) The Thirty Years' War.

II. The Reformation.—The result of the application to religion of the Renaissance desire for individual liberty.

(1) CAUSES. — Best summarized into:—

(a) *General.*

(α) Growth of the desire for individual liberty, and revolt against mediæval restraints of thought.

(β) Growth of the spirit of nationality, and consequent wish for national churches.

(γ) General weakening of the hold of the Papacy on the minds of men, owing to licentious popes such as Alexander VI (1493–1503), and warlike popes such as Julius II (1503–1513).

(b) *Particular.*

(α) Corruption of the Papacy as shown by (e.g.) the sale of indulgences.

(β) Political conditions of each country where the Reformation took hold, such as (e.g.) England, where Henry VIII desired a divorce from Katherine of Aragon.

(γ) Revolt against certain doctrines of the Church—purgatory, confession, transubstantiation, &c.

(2) GERMANY. — The country where the movement first took definite shape.

(a) *Luther.*—Born at Eisleben, 1483; son of a miner. Educated at University of Erfurt; intended for law but became a monk. Professor at University of Wittenberg (1508), which had been founded by Frederick of Saxony. Pilgrimage to Rome, 1512. Studied St. Paul, and expounded doctrine of justification by faith. Roused to anger by sale of indulgences.

Ninety-five theses drawn up by Luther and nailed to door of church at Wittenberg.

(*b*) *Luther's supporters.*

(*α*) Some German princes (especially Frederick of Saxony), who were loath to acquiesce in the papal demands on the money of their subjects. Diet of Augsburg (1518)—Maximilian refused to head opposition to Papacy; chance of effecting German unity thus lost.

(*β*) The German humanists, such as Erasmus, the poet Ulrich von Hutten, and the reformer Melanchthon, Professor of Greek at Wittenberg. The latter was far more scholarly than Luther, and defined many of the new doctrines more clearly than Luther could have done.

(*c*) *Luther's Opponents.*—The "vested interests"—the Empire and the Papacy. "Luther broke the chain of authority and tradition at its strongest link." Luther's writings laid before the Pope (Leo X, 1513–1522). Excommunication of Luther, and beginning of wider scope of his activity. Luther now at war with Church; appeal of Pope to Emperor. Pope and Emperor now acting together to defend Church (cf. mediæval theory).

(*d*) *The German Reformation to the Peace of Nuremberg* (1532).

(*α*) *Diet of Worms* (1521).—"Luther at Worms is the most momentous and pregnant fact in our history." Luther against the powers of the world, and with the examples of Hus and Savonarola before him. Edict of Worms—Luther declared a heretic and placed under Imperial ban.

(*β*) *Luther at the Wartburg*, castle of Elector of Saxony.—Translated Bible, and thus set the standard of German prose and enlisted a new aid on side of Reformation. Eighteen translations of the Bible had appeared before, but Luther's was the first translation by a master of the popular tongue. General indignation at Luther's disappearance, which was attributed to the Church. Soon, return to Wittenberg, now the centre of reform.

(*γ*) *Two wars*, both opposed by Luther—Knights' War and Peasants' Revolt. Both grew out of Reformation spirit, but both failed (1522–1525). Luther had definitely thrown in his lot with the princes against these revolts.

(*δ*) *Further Progress of Reform.*—Marriage of Luther with Katherine Bora, a nun (1526). Reformed doctrines spread; services conducted in German; Luther's Bible adopted. Name "Protestants" first used after Second Diet of Speier (1529), because reformers "protested" against a proposal to return to the conditions of the Edict of Worms.

(*ε*) *Diet of Augsburg* (1530).—Presided over by Charles V. Lutheran case presented in *Confession of Augsburg*, drawn up by Melanchthon, the future basis of Lutheran belief. Imperial edict forbade teaching of reformed doctrines. Answer of reformers was League of Schmalkalde (1530). Invasion of Turks prevented civil war. Peace of Nuremberg (1532)—toleration granted till a General Council could be summoned. But one was not summoned till the Council of Trent (1545; see *infra*), and then reformers refused to join it.

(*e*) *From the Peace of Nuremberg to the Peace of Augsburg* (1532–1555).

(*α*) *Spread of Protestantism* in northern and central Germany; conversion of Brandenburg and the remainder of Saxony; League of Schmalkalde supreme as an armed power.

(*β*) *Diet of Ratisbon* (1541).—Another attempt to settle the question. Failure owing to question of transubstantiation.

(*γ*) *War of League of Schmalkalde* (1546–1547).—Victory of Charles at Mühlberg (1547) made him supreme in Germany.

(*δ*) *The Interim* (1548).—Issued by Charles as an attempt to settle the religious question. Offended both Catholics and Protestants. Reaction against Charles (see *supra*), ending finally in his abdication.

(*ε*) *Peace of Augsburg* (1555).—The work of the princes. Basis of religious life in Germany for over half a century. Chief points:—

1. "Cuius regio eius religio."—Religion of state to be settled by its head. But no toleration for followers of Calvin or Zwingli.
2. Ecclesiastical Reservation.—Patronage and see of a bishop who became a Protestant to be resigned by him. (Protestant protest against this included in treaty.)

(3) SWITZERLAND.—A confederation, not a unitary state.

(*a*) *German* (*Eastern*) *Portion.*—Zwingli (1484–1531).

(*α*) *Influence of Zwingli.*—Educated at Bern and Vienna. Studied epistles of St. Paul, and arrived (independently) at many of Luther's conclusions. Worked at Zürich from 1519, and persuaded the canton to refuse to admit the papal nuncio, Samson. Inveighed against papal request for Swiss troops for war with Francis I

and against indulgences. Desire for reform spread to Bern and Basel, but not to the Forest Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, and Unterwalden.

(β) *War.*—Due partly to religious differences and partly to opposition to excessive power of Forest Cantons in Federal Diet. Final defeat of Zürich and death of Zwingli (1531) at battle of Kappel. Peace of Kappel—each canton to settle its own religion. Thus disunion in Switzerland.

(γ) *Doctrines of Zwingli.*—Definite denial of transubstantiation (Lutheran doctrine was a compromise); supremacy of majority established in religious matters (Lutheranism had strengthened hands of princes).

(*b*) *French (Western) Portion.*—Calvin (1507–1564).

(*a*) *Influence of Calvin.*—A Frenchman, born at Noyon, in Picardy. Legal training at Paris and Orleans. Turned to theology, and embraced reformed views. Driven from France (1534) by persecution under Francis I. Wrote (1536) *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, his greatest theological work. Settled in Geneva same year, and assisted Guillaume Farel in his reforming efforts. Opposition to both, owing to the harshness of their system; exile of both (1538). Recall of Calvin (1541). Supremacy in Geneva till his death.

(β) *Doctrines of Calvin.*—Predestination; rejection of penances; denial of transubstantiation. But doctrines less important than polity: democratic system, but power of congregation limited by elected assembly, which had jurisdiction over even the pleasures of the members of the Church. Educational system established.

Calvinism was "the creed of rebels". It was adopted in Scotland (Presbyterianism of John Knox), the Netherlands (rebellion against Spain resulting in independence), France (Huguenots), and England (Puritans).

(4) SCANDINAVIA.—Union of Kalmar (1397) had joined the three countries on the basis of a personal union. But national feelings in Sweden were in favour of independence, and the Reformation gave the opportunity.

(*a*) *Sweden.*—Massacre of Swedish nobles in Stockholm by Christian II roused national spirit. Leader was Gustavus Vasa, son of one of the victims, who became first King of Sweden (1523). Henceforward country independent.

(*b*) *Denmark and Norway.*—Deposition of Christian II (1523) in favour of Frederick I (1523–1533). Lutheranism established under Christian III, successor of Frederick I.

(5) ENGLAND.—Isolated, and therefore influenced by Reformation in a special way, since connection with Rome had not been so thorough or so continuous as in the case of the Churches of the Continent. Final triumph of reformed ideas.

(6) FRANCE.—For the wars of religion, see *infra*.

(7) ITALY AND SPAIN.—See *infra* in account of Counter-Reformation.

III. The Counter-Reformation, sometimes called the Catholic Reformation or the Catholic Reaction.

The attempt of the Catholic Church to reform itself, which was reformation in the strict sense of the term. Chief features and agents:—

(1) THE JESUITS.

(*a*) *Founder.*—Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), a Spanish nobleman and soldier till 1521, when he received a severe wound, the illness resulting from which caused him to alter his life and devote it to religion. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome, and period of study at Paris (1528–1535), where he formed the nucleus of his society—The Society of Jesus—with Iago Laynez, Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, and Bobadilla. Order recognized by Paul III (Pope 1534–1550).

(*b*) *Organization and Vows.*—Military basis, Loyola being called general of order, and directing it from Rome. Absolute power of general over members, who were dispersed over various countries. Method of work was by means of diplomacy and education of young. Great success in preserving Catholicism in Italy, Spain, France, and the south of the Empire (Hapsburg territories), and in keeping up its influence in the countries which had accepted the Reformation. Second general was Lainez, who had drawn up the constitution of the order.

(2) THE PAPACY.—No more unworthy popes. Pius V (1566–1572) abolished nepotism; Sixtus V (1585–1590) encouraged industries. The purification of the Papacy was due partly to the foundation of the order of the Theatines (so called from Theate, or Chieti, of which place the founder, Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV (1555–1559), was bishop).

(3) THE INQUISITION.

(*a*) *Origin and Powers.*—After Albigensian Crusade (see *supra*), when Innocent III used the Holy Inquisition or Holy Office to suppress heresy. Reorganized in 1542 by Paul III, who appointed six cardinals (chief of them Caraffa) with undefined powers to try cases of heresy and to censorize writings. Chief agents of Inquisition were Dominican and Franciscan monks.

(*b*) *Sphere of Activity.*—Spain, France, Italy, and Netherlands. Never established in England. In Spain, Torquemada (Dominican prior) appointed Grand Inquisitor (1478). Burning of heretics known as "auto-da-fe" ("act of faith"). Inquisition in force in Rome till 1744, in France till 1772, and in Spain till 1820; but chief work done in first thirty years of its existence.

(4) COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545–1563).—Unification of doctrines of Roman Church. Very few additions have been made since. Completion of Counter-Reformation.

(*a*) *Reasons for Council.*

(α) Request of Charles V, who saw a possibility of settling the religious difficulty (see *supra*).

(β) Opportunity to settle doctrines of Roman Church and to define its attitude towards the reformed doctrines.

(*b*) *Composition.*—Mostly Italian prelates, with some Spanish and French. Protestants refused to join Council on the ground that it was a papal clique.

(*c*) *Questions.*—Organization, doctrine, and reform. Doctrines finally settled in favour of old ideas on such subjects as ordination, the sacraments, celibacy, and the worship of saints. Stricter discipline enforced on priests.

IV. Revolt of the Netherlands.

(1) PHILIP II OF SPAIN (1556–1598).—Inherited Spain, Naples, Milan, the Netherlands, and the New World from his father, Charles V, while the Empire passed to Ferdinand I, brother of Charles (Emperor 1556–1564). Philip was vassal of papacy and champion of reaction. His two chief aims were to stamp out heresy and to increase the influence of his family. Annexation of Portugal by Spain (1580–1640).

(2) THE NETHERLANDS.—A loose federation. Passed from Dukes of Burgundy to Hapsburgs through marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian I.

(*a*) *Northern.*—Basis of Holland. Progress of reformed ideas in form of Calvinism (see *supra*). Inhabitants famous as sailors.

(*b*) *Southern.*—Basis of Belgium. Most prosperous portion (Flanders) of Netherlands. Literature and art flourished—Froissart (1337–1410) and Philip de Commines (1445–1509), literary men; Jan and Hubert van Eyck (early fifteenth century) and Hans Memling, artists. University of Louvain founded 1425. People in southern portion mostly Catholic.

(3) PHILIP AND THE NETHERLANDS.—Trouble between the Catholic King and the Protestant north inevitable. Governors:—

(*a*) *Margaret of Parma* (1559–1567).—Leaders of people were William of Orange (William the Silent) and Counts Egmont and Horn. Migrations of Dutch and Flemish to England.

(*b*) *Alva* (1567–1573).—"Council of Blood" established; persecutions renewed. Execution at Brussels of Counts Egmont and Horn. Commencement of revolt. Recognition (1572) of William of Orange as Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht.

(*c*) *Requesens* (1573–1576).—Further progress of revolt. Siege and relief of Leyden (1574); university founded there to commemorate the relief. Union of north and south in Pacification of Ghent against Philip (1576).

(*d*) *Don John of Austria* (1576–1578).—First sign of return of south to Spanish rule.

(*e*) *Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma* (1578–1592).—Hence William had to rely on the north only. *Union of Utrecht* (1579), basis of independence of Holland; the Seven Provinces were Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen, and Overyssel. William of Orange hereditary Stadtholder. Severance from Spain announced 1581. Assassination of William of Orange (1584). Succeeded by his son, Maurice.

Philip now face to face with a European war (troubles with England and France), which culminated in the Armada (1588), a landmark in Dutch history. Result of Dutch struggle was return of southern provinces to Spanish allegiance ("Spanish Netherlands" from 1595) and virtual recognition in truce of 1609 of independence of northern provinces.

This revolt was "the first war of liberation, the pattern and precedent of all succeeding revolutions".

V. The Wars of Religion in France (1559–1610).

A period of half a century mainly occupied with religious wars, the result of the Reformation. Influence

(till 1589) of Catherine de Medici, wife of Henry II of France (King 1547–1559). Rivalry of the Guises and the Bourbons (Antony of Bourbon was heir to crown after children of Henry II; his brother, Louis of Condé, became leader of the Protestants in France); latter allied to the Chatillons, one of whom was Admiral de Coligny, the defender of the Huguenots. Cause of wars was both religious (persecution of Calvinist Huguenots by Guises under Francis II) and political (Bourbons *v.* Guises), religion forming the pretext.

(1) FRANCIS II (1559–1560). — In hands of the Guises, uncles of his wife, Mary, Queen of Scots. Edicts against Huguenots.

(2) CHARLES IX (1560–1574).—Catherine de Medici regent. Toleration to Huguenots by Edict of 1562, followed by massacre of Huguenots at Vassy by order of Duke of Guise.

(*a*) *First Civil War* (1562–1563).—Murder of Guise (1563) ended war.

(*b*) *Second Civil War* (1567–1568).—Montmorency, Constable of France, supporter of Guise, slain.

(*c*) *Third Civil War* (1568–1570). — Condé slain (1569). Chief Huguenot leaders now were Coligny and *Henry of Navarre* (son of Antony of Bourbon and Jeanne, Queen of Navarre). Peace of St. Germain secured to Huguenots toleration, and four towns of refuge, La Rochelle being the chief.

Marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles IX (1572)—gathering of Huguenots in Paris to celebrate the event—Massacre of St. Bartholomew (August, 1572), Coligny being amongst the slain. Henry of Navarre now leader of Huguenots.

(*d*) *Fourth Civil War* (1572).—Ended by another edict securing a limited toleration to the Huguenots.

(3) HENRY III (1574–1589).—Continued influence of Catherine de Medici. Fresh parties had arisen in France—the Politiques (in favour of toleration) and the Catholic League (object to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne).

(*a*) *Fifth Civil War* (1574–1576).—Still no permanent settlement.

(*b*) Henry of Navarre heir to throne by death of Francis of Anjou (1584).

(*c*) *Renewed Civil War* (1585–1589).—War of the "Three Henries"—Henry III, Henry of Guise, and Henry of Navarre. Flight of Henry III from Paris, and entry of Henry of Guise. Murder of Guise by order of Henry III (1588). Open war now between Henry III and the Catholic League, which was eager to avenge murder of Guise. Assassination of Henry III.

(4) HENRY IV (1589–1610).—Henry of Navarre. Necessary for him to conquer France before he could rule it. Victories over the Catholic League and final triumph of Henry.

(*a*) Henry a Catholic (1593).—"Paris is well worth a mass."

(*b*) *Edict of Nantes* (1598). — Toleration granted to Huguenots; but they still had to pay tithes to the state religion and to observe the Catholic festivals.

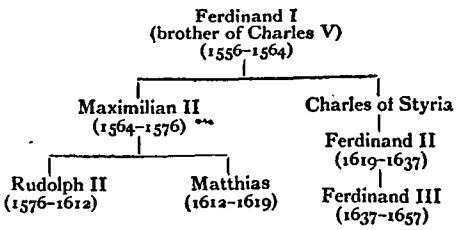
(*c*) *Administration of Sully.*—Anti-Hapsburg policy abroad. An era of prosperity for France, and the foundation of the work of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

Assassination of Henry in Paris by François Ravaillac (1610).

VI. Germany from the Abdication of Charles V to the end of the Thirty Years' War (1556–1648).

States of Germany divided by the Reformation, Catholicism persisting in the Hapsburg territories, and Protestantism (Lutheranism and Calvinism) in the north and centre. Conflict between the two rendered all the more certain by the political circumstances of the time—semi-independent states and only nominal overlordship of Empire.

(1) EMPERORS OF THIS PERIOD.



(2) FORMATION OF CATHOLIC LEAGUE AND PROTESTANT UNION (1608–1609).—Thus two definitely hostile camps, under, respectively, Maximilian of Bavaria, and Frederick, Count Palatine (son-in-law of James I of England, and ancestor of the Hanoverian kings). Only a poli-

tical question was necessary to precipitate the outbreak of war.

(3) BOHEMIAN REVOLT.—The signal for the conflict. Bohemia, in which Lutheranism had been established, belonged to Hapsburgs. Succession question precipitated revolt; Ferdinand of Styria (see table) accepted (1617) as heir of Matthias. Resistance in Bohemia, and adoption of anti-Protestant policy by the imperial ministers. "Fenstersturz" of Prague (1618)—ministers thrown from a window. Signal for war. Death of Matthias (1619)—Ferdinand refused in Bohemia, and Frederick, Count Palatine, elected King.

(4) THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648).—Gradually became (*a*) general European struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and (*b*) rivalry between Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties for leadership of Europe. Four periods, as war extended:—

(*a*) *Bohemian* (1618–1623).—Triumph of Catholic League over Frederick at battle of the White Hill (1620); Frederick exiled, and Bohemia and Palatinate occupied by League.

War now attracted attention of France (under Richelieu, 1624–1642), Denmark (nearest Protestant neighbour of Germany), and Sweden. Protestant and anti-Hapsburg policy of Richelieu abroad.

(*b*) *Danish* (1625–1629).—Intervention of Christian IV in favour of Protestants. A Catholic army, under Tilly, and an imperial army, under Wallenstein. Protestants, under Mansfeld, defeated at Dessau, and Christian IV defeated at Lutter by Tilly. Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Dismissal of Wallenstein, whose influence was disliked by the princes.

(*c*) *Swedish* (1630–1635).—The "heroic period". Influence of Gustavus Adolphus, who had designs of a Swedish empire round the Baltic ("the Swedish Lake"). Alliance of Gustavus Adolphus with Richelieu, who sent money.
Magdeburg destroyed by Tilly (1631); Breitenfeld (1631)—Tilly routed by Gustavus; recall of Wallenstein, who was defeated at Lützen (1632) by Gustavus, who was slain. Swedes defeated at Nördlingen (1634)—Southern Germany regained for Empire. Murder of Wallenstein (1635).

(*d*) *Franco-Swedish* (1635–1648).—Swedish leadership fell to Oxenstierna. France now entered the war—chief generals Turenne and Condé. "Long agony of Germany." Victory of Condé at Rocroi (1643), followed by other French triumphs. All Germany eager for peace.

(*e*) *Peace of Westphalia* (1648).—One of the great treaties of European history.

(*a*) *Territorial Settlement.*—Sweden received Western Pomerania, Bremen, and Verdun (thus command of the Baltic); Brandenburg (see *infra* in account of rise of Prussia) received Eastern Pomerania; France received Alsace, except Strassburg; Lower Palatinate given to son of Frederick, with (the eighth) electoral dignity, Upper Palatinate and the electoral right being retained by Maximilian of Bavaria; Switzerland declared independent of Empire; independence of the Seven United Provinces recognized.

(*β*) *Religious Settlement.*—Peace of Augsburg confirmed; Calvinists granted toleration.

Boundary between Old and New Europe. Empire henceforward Austrian; diminished influence of Papacy; permanent advance of France; high-water mark of Swedish greatness. Reformation epoch brought to an end; religious rivalry now gives place to commercial rivalry (see Wars of Eighteenth Century). Gradual growth of toleration, as different religions existed side by side. But German unity was as far off as ever. Henceforth, all Europe *v.* France—preparation for Age of Louis XIV.

C. A CENTURY OF FRENCH ASCENDANCY (1610–1715)

A period comprising the influence of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

I. Richelieu (1624–1642).—Accession of Louis XIII (1610–1643) commenced a period of "the most worthless government that even that country had ever endured". Accession of Richelieu to power when a strong man was most needed—"the greatest, though not the noblest, statesman France has ever produced".

(1) POLICY.—To make France supreme in Europe. Methods:—

(*a*) To unite France as a nation.
(*b*) To centralize the royal power.
(*c*) To secure the frontiers and combat Hapsburg influence.

(2) INTERNAL AFFAIRS.—Huguenots suppressed at La Rochelle (1628), the fortifications of which were demolished—last resistance of any French city to the monarchy until 1789; revolt of nobles suppressed. Foundation of French Academy by Richelieu.

(3) FOREIGN AFFAIRS. — Protestant policy (see *supra*, Thirty Years' War)—Protestantism saved in northern Europe. In all countries Richelieu supported a rising cause—in England, Parliament; in Germany, the princes; in Spain, the provinces; and in Italy, the states. France the dictator of peace in 1648, and the first military power in Europe.

II. Mazarin (1643–1661).—Period of minority of Louis XIV. Success of Mazarin due to his talent for diplomacy.

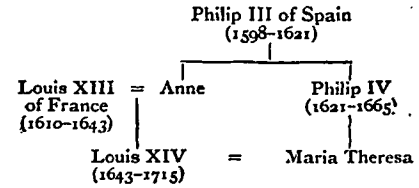
(1) INTERNAL AFFAIRS.—Civil war in France (Wars of the Fronde; 1648–1653), due to unsuccessful struggle of nobles to regain privileges which had passed to the monarchy. Last attempt to curb the monarchy.

(2) FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—End of Thirty Years' War. Continuation of war with Spain; chief French generals, Turenne and Condé. French alliance with Cromwell, who had to choose between alliance with France or with Spain. Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659)—complement of Westphalia, since southern frontier of France was secured, Pyrenees being fixed as boundary; marriage arranged between Louis XIV and Maria Theresa (see War of Spanish Succession). End of Spanish greatness.

III. Louis XIV.—Period 1661 to 1715, the Age of Louis XIV; a period which opened with France the leader of Europe, and closed, after four expensive wars, with the French exchequer almost empty. In this period are the seeds of the French Revolution. Chief ministers, till 1691, Colbert and Louvois; after 1691, second-rate men. Louis assumed the powers of kingship on death of Mazarin.

(1) FOREIGN POLICY.—Aggrandizement of France aimed at. Spanish marriage (see *supra*) brought Louis one step nearer to Spanish crown.

TABLE OF DESCENT



And Spanish Netherlands were in the way of any northern advance of the French frontier.

(2) FOUR WARS IN LOUIS XIV'S FOREIGN POLICY:—

(*a*) War of Devolution (1667–1668).
(*b*) Dutch War (1672–1678).
(*c*) War of League of Augsburg or of English Succession (1689–1697).
(*d*) War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713).

Each of these will be outlined in turn.

(3) WAR OF DEVOLUTION (1667–1668).—Death of Philip IV of Spain (1665) followed by claim of Louis by "Law of Devolution" to Spanish Netherlands. Invasion of Flanders. Louis left in possession of his conquests in Netherlands.

Effect on Dutch—conclusion of defensive Triple Alliance (1668) with Holland and Sweden. Defection of first England (Treaty of Dover with Charles II, 1670) and then Sweden from the alliance, owing to successful French diplomacy. Louis now ready to attack Holland.

(4) WAR WITH THE DUTCH (1672–1678).

(*a*) *Holland from 1584 to 1672.*—William the Silent (assassinated 1584) succeeded as Stadtholder by his son, Maurice. Truce with Spain for twelve years (1609–1621). War renewed in 1621—Maurice succeeded as commander on his death by his brother, Frederick Henry. William II, son of Frederick Henry, became Stadtholder in 1647, but quarrelled with the burghers. Fall of Orange family in 1650, on death of William II, a week before his son, afterwards William III of England, was born. Republic formed under the De Witts, who neglected the army because of its loyalty to the House of Orange. War with England under Commonwealth. Murder of John de Witt (1672) on outbreak of French war; William III became Stadtholder, and thus enemy of Louis XIV.

(*b*) *Causes of War.*

(α) Territorial ambitions of Louis XIV—desire to extend frontier northwards.

(β) Religious bigotry of Louis, who was

now consumed with a desire to root out Protestantism in France and to defeat it abroad, especially in Holland, the country to which French refugees fled.

(*c*) *Events.* — Chief French generals the famous Turenne and Condé. League formed (Empire, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Saxony, and Lorraine) against France (1673) — Hapsburgs *v.* France. England supported France and declared war on Holland (Second Dutch War of Restoration).

(*d*) *Peace of Nimeguen* (or Nymwegen).— France gained frontier towns in Netherlands, and was allowed to keep districts conquered in East (frontier in east now the Jura).

[Death of Colbert (1683); succeeded by Louvois (died 1691).]

[*France from 1678 to 1688.*—Religious troubles.

(*a*) *Jansenists.*—Society founded by Cornelius Jansen and Jean du Vergier, and including Pascal and Racine, against Jesuit influence. Centre of movement (the "Puritan movement of Catholicism") the monastery of Port Royal. Persecution under Richelieu, and opposition under Louis XIV, who favoured the Jesuits.

(*b*) *Louis and the Papacy.*—Vengeance of Louis on Papacy for its support of House of Hapsburg. Papal authority over Gallican Church seriously weakened after national synod of French clergy in 1682. But doctrines of Roman Church still adhered to.

(*c*) *Huguenots.*—Attempts to convert them to Roman Catholicism, Louis being now under influence of Madame de Maintenon. "Dragonnades" of Louvois—troops quartered on Huguenots till they abjured their religion. Finally, Revocation of Edict of Nantes (1685)—a fatal measure, for hundreds of thousands of industrious French people left the country for England and Holland, and all the Protestant allies of France were driven to break their alliance. *League of Augsburg* formed (1686)—Empire, Spain, Holland, Sweden, German princes, and Italian states.

(*d*) *League of Augsburg.*—Question of English alliance important. Revolution of 1688 settled it—England, under William of Orange, definitely Protestant. Dual position of William as enemy of Louis XIV—(*α*) as a Dutchman and member of the League of Augsburg; (*β*) as English king and enemy of James II, who had taken refuge with Louis XIV.]

(5) War of the League of Augsburg (War of the English Succession, 1689–1697).—In its *personal* aspect, William III *v.* Louis XIV; in its *religious* aspect, Protestantism *v.* Catholicism; in its *territorial* aspect, Europe *v.* an all-absorbing France; in its (English) *constitutional* aspect, Parliamentary Government *v.* (Stewart) Absolutism.

Wonderful vitality of France. Never less than four French armies in the field at once.

(*a*) *Events.*—Chief fighting in Netherlands, where Namur was taken by the French and then retaken by William (1695). Help sent by Louis to James II in Ireland—Battle of the Boyne (1st July, 1690); defeat of James. Exhaustion of France. Death of Colbert (1691).

(*b*) *Treaty of Ryswick* (1697).—Two treaties, one being between Louis and the Emperor (Leopold I). Chief terms:—

(*α*) Dutch to garrison frontier towns of Netherlands (in hands of French since Dutch War of 1672–1678).

(*β*) Louis kept Strassburg (see Peace of Westphalia, 1648), which remained French till 1871.

(*γ*) William III acknowledged as King of England. (See War of Spanish Succession.)

The treaty was a check to Louis XIV—Holland powerful; England no longer an ally as she had been under the Stewarts; Rhine frontier not yet reached. Spanish Succession question now opening out.

(6) War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713).—The last of the wars of Louis XIV.

(*a*) *Spanish Dominions.*

(*α*) In Europe.—Spain, Southern Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia.

(*β*) In America.—Colonies in North, Central, and Southern America, with some of West Indian Islands.

(*γ*) In Asia.—Philippines.

(*b*) *Question at Issue.*—Inheritance of Spanish dominions after death of the weak Charles II, who had no children. Claimants:—

(*α*) *French.*—Louis XIV, who passed on his claim to his younger grandson, Philip of Anjou, knowing that Europe would not allow union of France and Spain in one person.

(*β*) *Austrian.* — Emperor Leopold I, grandson of Philip III of Spain and brother-in-law of Charles II. He passed on his claim to his second son, the Archduke Charles, for a similar reason.

(*γ*) *Bavarian.*—Joseph of Bavaria, grandson of the younger sister of Charles II.

(*c*) *Interest of European Powers.*

(*α*) To prevent undue preponderance of either the Bourbons or the Hapsburgs in Europe.

(β) To share in trade with New World in case of division of Spanish colonies.

Thus two questions—Balance of Power and Commercial Supremacy.

(*d*) *Partition Treaties.*—Arranged by the European monarchs without reference to the desires of the Spanish people.

(α) 1st (1698).—Division of Spanish dominions amongst the three claimants, Joseph of Bavaria being agreed upon as heir to the kingdom of Spain. Death of Joseph (1699).

(β) 2nd (1700).—Division of Spanish dominions between the two remaining claimants, Archduke Charles being agreed upon as heir to the kingdom of Spain.

Death of Charles II of Spain (1700), who, under French influence, had made a will in favour of Philip of Anjou. Acceptance of will by Louis XIV, who thus broke Second Partition Treaty.

(*e*) *Grand Alliance.*—Europe not prepared for this step, and therefore not ready for immediate war. Philip acknowledged as King of Spain by both England and Holland, William being now unpopular in England. Two unwise steps of Louis:—

(α) Philip recognized by him as a possible heir to the French crown in case his elder brother, Louis (afterwards Louis XV), died before him. This action roused Europe.

(β) James Edward, the "Old Pretender", recognized by him as James III of England on death of James II (1701); Treaty of Ryswick thus broken. This action roused England.

Grand Alliance arranged by William at the Hague—Emperor, German princes, Portugal, Savoy, Holland, and England. Death of William just before outbreak of war (1702). His policy continued—in England under Anne (Marlborough being the general), and in Holland under Heinsius.

(*f*) *Events.*—As before, France had to support several armies against such able commanders as Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Fighting in Netherlands and Austria (victories of Marlborough—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet), in Spain and Italy, and on the sea (Gibraltar captured for England, 1704). France forced to sue for peace; two events favoured her request:—

(α) Death of Emperor Joseph I; Archduke Charles, Austrian candidate for Spanish throne, became Emperor Charles VI, and allies were faced with an evil as great as that they had been trying to avert, namely, the union of Spain and the Empire.

(β) Ministerial changes in England—Tories (peace party) recalled Marlborough.

(*g*) *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713), followed by Treaty of Rastadt between France and Empire. One of the great pacifications of Europe. Chief problems were Spanish Succession and desires of the various countries to obtain territorial and commercial compensations for their losses in the war. Terms can be summarized as follows:—

(α) *Territorial.*

1. Austria gained Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and part of Spanish Netherlands.
2. Holland gained barrier fortresses.
3. Savoy gained Sicily; Duke granted title of king.
4. Prussia gained some land on Meuse, and Elector of Brandenburg became King of Prussia.

(β) *Dynastic.*

1. Philip of Anjou became Philip V of Spain, but renounced his claims on France.
2. Hanoverian Succession (decided on in England in 1701) acknowledged in England; no help to be given to the Stuarts by Spain and France.

(γ) *Commercial.*—England and Holland gained a share in the trade of the New World (separate treaty, the Assiento Treaty, with Spain).

(δ) *Colonial.*—England gained Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay Territory, Minorca, and Gibraltar.

The following points should be noted about this treaty:—

(α) It is a stage in the growth of the British Empire.

(β) It contained the germs of many future questions, such as the problem of Italian unity (growth of House of Savoy and commencement of Austrian dominion in Italy), the rise of Prussia, and the Family Compacts of 1733 and 1762 between France and Spain.

(γ) It was the end of the century of French greatness, and the end of the seventeenth century. Louis XIV died in 1715. This age gives place to another.

D. THE GROWTH OF COLONIZATION (1492 TO PRESENT DAY)

Reference has already been made to the discovery of the New World as one of the marks of the commencement of Modern History. One of its effects was the general desire on the part of many of the nations of the Old World to share in the wealth of the New

World. The course of the contest for colonial and commercial supremacy will now be traced. Periods:—

I. Sixteenth Century (1492–1588).—Greatness of Spain and Portugal (Portugal absorbed by Spain, 1580). Features of this period:—

(1) Entrance of England into Commercial and Colonial Contest.—This is real meaning of defeat of Spanish Armada.

(2) Rise of Holland.—Another maritime power. Independence gained from Spain.

(3) Beginning of Decline of Spain.—Four landmarks in this progress:—

(*a*) Defeat of Armada, 1588.
(*b*) Treaty of Pyrenees, 1659.
(*c*) Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.
(*d*) Loss of Spanish Colonies in America, 1813–1821.

As yet no thought of rivalry between England and Holland. Not until commercial jealousy proved too strong for community of religion, and not until the danger of Catholicism had passed away, did this rivalry arise.

II. Seventeenth Century (1588–1713).—Four chief rivals—Spain, France, Holland, and England. Question of Spanish colonial supremacy still paramount. Fortunes of each country:—

(1) Spain.—Continued decline, to which England helped by alliance of Cromwell with Mazarin (England captured Jamaica, 1655); Treaty of Pyrenees (1659), at which France dictated the terms of peace. War of Spanish Succession and division of Spanish Empire.

(2) France.—Century of French greatness under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. Foundation of Louisiana and Quebec (1608)—germs of quarrel between France and England in North American colonies. Indian stations founded at Pondicherry and Chandernagore—germs of quarrel between France and England in India.

(3) Holland.—Navigation Act passed (1651) in England against Dutch. Three wars with England. Commercial rivalry now supersedes religious rivalry:—

(*a*) 1st.—During Commonwealth (1652–1654).
(*b*) 2nd.—Early in Restoration period (1665–1667). England gained New Amsterdam, and renamed it New York.
(*c*) 3rd.—Charles II in alliance with Louis XIV (see Wars of Louis XIV).

Period of Dutch greatness at an end after separation from England (1702).

(4) England.—Earliest colonies and trading stations, nucleus of Empire beyond the seas, founded as follows:—

(*a*) *In America.*—Settlement of Barbados (1605) and Virginia (1608), followed by foundation of New England States by the Puritan "Pilgrim Fathers" and their successors, until a long line of colonies, stretching inland for 200 miles, existed for hundreds of miles along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.
(*b*) *In Asia.*—East India Company founded (1600); foundation of Madras (1639), Bombay (ceded by Portugal, 1668), and Calcutta (1701).

After 1713, when England acquired several other districts (see *supra*, Treaty of Utrecht), colonial rivalry was confined mostly to France and England, and forms an important phase of the "Second Hundred Years' War" (1689–1815) between the two countries. Each war of the eighteenth century, beginning with the War of the Spanish Succession and ending with the Battle of Waterloo, has a colonial as well as a European aspect. It is this fact which gives to the wars a unity which otherwise they would not possess.

III. Eighteenth Century (1713–1815).—Period of French and English rivalry in "Second Hundred Years' War" (1689–1815). Two of the wars (War of the League of Augsburg and War of the Spanish Succession) have already been outlined.

(1) War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

(*a*) *War of Jenkins' Ear* (1739).—Question of Spanish claim to search English ships for contraband goods left unsettled at Utrecht. Loud demands in England for war finally acceded to by Walpole, who could not see the greater question at issue between England, France, and Spain in the New World, namely, the problem of colonial leadership and supremacy. Voyage of Anson round the world (1740–1744).
(*b*) *War of the Austrian Succession.*—European conflict, due to rivalry of Prussia and Austria (beginning of grand struggle not ended for over a century), commencing at same time.

(α) *Death of Emperor Charles VI* (Archduke Charles of War of Spanish Succession), 1740, last male of Hapsburg dynasty. He had arranged in the Pragmatic Sanction (guaranteed by the powers) for his daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed to his dominions. Contest for Empire between Charles of Bavaria and Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa. Election of Charles —Charles VII (1742–1745).

(β) *Rise of Prussia.*—Cradle was Brandenburg, an Electorate (see Golden Bull, 1356) under House of Hohenzollern, which acquired Cleves and Prussia in early seventeenth century. Frederick William (the Great Elector, 1640–1688) gained Eastern Pomerania at Westphalia (*q.v.*), and his son, Frederick I (1688–1713), became first King of Prussia (title granted at Utrecht). Under Frederick William I (1713–1740) army developed and government centralized (Prussian bureaucracy); quarrel between king and his son, Frederick; attempted flight of Frederick, discovery of which nearly cost him his life; after this, devotion of Frederick to literature and state and military affairs—best apprenticeship to kingship ever served. Accession of Frederick II, Frederick the Great (1740).

(γ) *Prussia and Pragmatic Sanction.*—Maria Theresa succeeded to Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, but Frederick revived an old Prussian claim to Silesia.

(δ) *Questions at Issue in War.*—Succession to Empire (Charles of Bavaria *v.* Francis of Lorraine), fate of Silesia, and colonial supremacy. France and Spain joined Prussia (anti-Hapsburg policy of France and Family Compact between France and Spain), and England joined Austria and Bavaria (to protect Hanover from Prussian expansion). Stewart invasion of England took place at this time (1745).

(ε) *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1748).—Frederick left in possession of Silesia; Francis recognized as Emperor Francis I (1745–1765), Charles VII having died; and Hanoverian Succession recognized in Great Britain (no further Stewart rebellions).

(2) Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

(a) *Diplomatic Revolution* (1748–1756).—Old grouping of powers:—France and Prussia against Austria and Great Britain. New grouping of powers, as result of Diplomatic Revolution:—France and Austria against Prussia and Britain. Thus, anti-Hapsburg policy of France reversed.

(b) *Phases of War.*

(α) European.—Austria *v.* Prussia—Austria determined to recover Silesia.

(β) Colonial.—France *v.* Great Britain, in America and India, where fighting had been in progress before 1756.

Policy of Pitt was to "conquer Canada on the plains of Germany" by subsidizing Frederick, and thus enabling him to deal blows at France and her ally, Austria.

(c) *Fields of Fighting.*—Spain joined France in 1762.

(α) *Continent of Europe.*—Reputation of Frederick as being "in the first rank amongst generals" (opinion of Napoleon) established, after serious reverses.

(β) *India.*—Clive *v.* Dupleix. British victories at Plassey (1757) and Wandewash (1760).

(γ) *America.*—Plan of French to build a chain of forts from Quebec to Louisiana, and thus hem in British colonies. Capture of French forts (Duquesne being the chief, rebuilt and called "Pittsburg") and success of Wolfe at Quebec (1759).

(δ) *Sea.*—Victories of British fleet at Lagos and Quiberon Bay. Capture of West Indian Islands from France and Spain, and of Havana and Manila from Spain.

(d) *Treaty of Paris* (1763).—Concluded by Great Britain, Frederick being basely deserted and left to make his own terms. Another step towards growth of Empire, although better terms should have been obtained by Britain (Pitt had resigned in 1761).

(α) *To Great Britain.*—Canada, Nova Scotia; Cape Breton Island, Mississippi boundary, Florida; Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago; Senegal; Minorca; right to cut logwood round Gulf of Honduras.

(β) *To France.*—Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia; Gorée; former French factories in India (not to be fortified); Newfoundland fishing rights and islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

(γ) *To Spain.*—Havana and Manila.

(e) *Treaty of Hubertusburg* (1763).—Between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony. Frederick left in possession of Silesia.

As a result of the war, therefore, Great Britain was placed amongst the chief European powers, and became the chief colonizing power; Prussia gained a position in Germany almost equal to that of Austria; and France and Spain were humiliated.

(3) War of American Independence (1776–1783).—Europe concerned not with the causes of the war, but with its European complications and its results.

(*a*) *European Aspect.*—France, Spain, and Holland declared war on Great Britain between 1778 and 1780. British defeats in America, but Empire saved by such events as victory of Rodney over De Grasse in West Indies (Jamaica saved), defence of Gibraltar (1779–1782) by Elliot, and policy of Warren Hastings in India (1774–1785).

(*b*) *Treaty of Versailles* (1783).—A blow to Great Britain.

(α) Minorca and Florida ceded to Spain.

(β) St. Lucia, Senegal, Tobago, and Gorée ceded to France.

(γ) American Independence (Declaration of Independence, 4th July, 1776) recognized—Washington first President (1789–1797).

(*c*) *Results of War on Europe.*—Very important.

(α) Great Britain.—Empire dismembered.

(β) Spain.—Gained Minorca and Florida, but her own colonies soon followed the example of the United States (Independence of Mexico, 1813; of Peru, 1821–1824; of Central America, 1821—hero of last struggle being Bolivar; revolts of other portions of South America—Paraguay, Chili, &c.—about the same time).

(γ) France.—Financial ruin, and enthusiasm for democratic constitution of the United States (two of causes of Revolution of 1789).

(4) Wars of the French Revolution (1793–1815).—See *infra*.

IV. Nineteenth Century (1815 onwards).—British Empire safe from external attack during this century. Chief stages in growth from 1815:—

(1) India.—Better administered after time of Warren Hastings. British authority extended. Policy of Dalhousie (Viceroy 1848–1856) led to Indian Mutiny. End of East India Company (1858), and transference of government to Crown. Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi Durbar of 1887.

(2) Canada.—Armed rebellion of 1837 led to mission of Lord Durham. Finally, Canadian Federation Act of 1867, constituting as the "Dominion" the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Manitoba; other provinces added later.

(3) Australia.—Used first as convict settlement, then as agricultural colony, and then as gold-mining colony. Australian Commonwealth Act (1900) constituted Australia a self-governing Federation. Similar progress of New Zealand.

(4) South Africa.—Acquisition of Natal (1844). Wars with Zulus and Kaffirs. Trouble with Boers, ending in war of 1899–1902, after which the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony fell into British hands. South African self-governing Union consummated in May, 1910, when first Union Parliament met.

The small state which defeated the majesty of Spain in the year 1588 has thus grown, by steps which we have traced, into the greatest Empire the world has ever seen.

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